

Periodical Publications
Great Britain and 3 Rf
THE London.
OLD WHIG: 12

OR, THE K

Consistent Protestant.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

*Hoc liberiores et solutiores sumus, quod integra
nobis est judicandi potestas: nec, ut omnia,
quae praescripta, et quasi imperata sint,
defendamus, necessitate ulla cogimur.*

CIC. Acad. Quaest. lib. iv.

L O N D O N,

Printed for W. WILKINS, A. WARD, R.
HETT, A. MILLAR, and J. GRAY.

M DCC XXXIX. 11



30h

Handwritten in cursive script, likely indicating a shelfmark or accession number.



T H E
P R E F A C E.

 *HE Title of these Miscellanies might raise an expectation of their being calculated to express the sentiments of a party. On the contrary, their view was to remind all parties of those principles which all, occasionally at least, acknowledge as the basis of society, the principles of liberty.*

OUR Fathers, who espoused these principles, when reason, liberty, and virtue were most unfashionable, were branded with the name of WHIGS; we therefore who have thought those truths still necessary to be inculcated, tho' always somewhat out of fashion, under the covert of their name spoke with their freedom, on subjects which concerned the cause of liberty, whether occurring in controversies of learned men, or parliamentary transactions.

AND since many of these were subjects of no transitory nature, the papers occasionally wrote on them are now collected in these vo-

lumes ; wherein we hope the reader will find the greater satisfaction, when he observes them wrote by persons differing from one another in opinion in some important points ; since the controversies which this difference produced were carried on with a regard to truth, and to truth only, and may therefore in these points afford more light than any uniform production.

T H E R E are few questions which concern the interest of liberty but what sometime occur'd during the continuance of this undertaking ; and if in any of those questions the reader finds some information, we hope he will excuse a want of poignancy which satire now gives the works in fashion. Writings filled with such ornaments, like painted windows, obscure the light they should afford.

C O U L D we have stooped to use general or personal abuse, occasion has not been wanting. Attacks were frequently made from many quarters, and with indecency enough ; but usually they were such as might proceed equally from a weak head or a corrupted heart ; we chose to see all objects in their mildest light, and therefore overlooked them ; particularly the author of a motley project, which he calls *The Alliance between Church and State*, which he proposed alternately should be each other's tools, whereby the glorious work of slavery might most effectually be carried on in the most sacred conjunction. Tho' we could not wholly approve his scheme, yet if his scurrility on us can give him any pleasure,
we

P R E F A C E. v

we can permit him to enjoy it unmolested, even until he shall be able to prove his own Legation as divine as that of Moses.

YET can we hope to have given no offence ? To be of no party is to be obnoxious to all ; and to contend for Liberty is at least an indirect attack on Power, which all men (whether in possession or in expectation of it) think may be safely trusted in their own hands at least, well knowing themselves to be the friends of liberty, and being very sure they never shall attack it, at least except when the most pressing necessity requires : so little do men know themselves, so easy is it for them to rank themselves amongst the friends of liberty, on the merit only of not attacking it for nothing. But no truth can be more certain, than that every man who is not active in the cause of liberty, consents to be a slave.

THE matters treated on were generally pursued as far as the occasion required ; but the postponing the bill proposed, for the relief of the poor, and punishing of vagrants, prevented the farther consideration of it as at that time useless ; tho' when the legislature shall be pleased to take that design once more into their consideration, no subject can better deserve the attention of the friends of liberty, than that which would relieve and make useful thousands who live in idleness and wretchedness, and at the same time greatly reduce the size and clear the difficulties of our statute-law, and set a noble precedent for farther improvements of that sort : A work of

no small consequence both to the ease and safety of the subject.

A N O T H E R subject which we could have wished to have explained more fully is the repeal or amendment of the laws which lay restraints and penalties on Protestant Dissenters ; persons, who, as we think, have shewn themselves the stedfast friends of liberty and this establishment. It is indeed true, that they were *OLD WHIGGS* who first made these laws, nay not without the concurrence and assistance of the Dissenters themselves ; but as experience shews them to be of no consequence to answer the ends proposed in making them, and as they tend on the contrary to weaken the hands which they were made to strengthen, they seem to have continued full long enough.

'T I S said, the taking off those restraints would make divisions amongst us, and alarm the clergy. Our clergy see too clearly the consequences which the desired repeal would be of to the honour of religion, and the uniting Protestants, to give a negative to it, was it to depend on their voices. Nor could any friend to the repeal be anxious of the event even on that contingency, if he duly considered how long all ecclesiastical preferments have been in the disposal of the friends of liberty ; such whom the Dissenters have constantly, and with some success, espous'd on all occasions, who therefore never would put power into the hands of persecutors. And does not experience shew this expectation answered ?

The

P R E F A C E. vii

The piety, the charity, the moderation, the love of liberty, which every where adorn the pastors of our church, would doubtless induce them to treat every restraint on conscience with indignation.

GENTLEMEN who talk of the divisions this would cause, who fear dangers from this alteration of our law, who see visions of *MOBS*, and are haunted with *Dr. Sacheverell's* apparition, ought to look back on past times: Let them see what effect a step like this had in the Roman commonwealth.

ALL offices of magistracy were there confined by law and by religion to be executed by *Patricians* only, who being orthodox by birth, could only take the auspices; which sacred ceremony was necessary in every act of government.

THE *Plebeians* desired these laws might be repealed.

WHILST this question was in dispute, so zealously was it contested, that Rome was twice in danger of being abandon'd; and often like to sink under intestine quarrels.

THE people said they would not be at the trouble to defend a state which thought them unworthy to be trusted with its offices; whilst the *Patricians* insisted on their antient rights, as the foundation of religion and government, and thought the fate of Rome depended on their being maintained.

BUT yet no sooner were these laws repeal'd, if I may use that term, and offices of all kinds common to every Roman, but the event shew'd

their mistake. With these laws all pretensions of faction were taken away also. Real and personal merit (says a judicious writer, speaking of this period) was now chiefly regarded in the distribution of Honours; so that this period of time may more properly than any other be called the period of Roman virtue.

IT may be added, that in consequence of this amendment of their constitution, Rome in a few years overcame all her difficulties, and became mistress of Italy.

THE only thing we ought to add is an apology for the delay which has been made in the publication of these volumes: But we chuse rather to hope for the pardon of the gentlemen who have honoured this Work with their subscription, from their knowledge of the uneasiness which this delay must have given us, than trespass on their patience farther, by troubling them with complaints of printers and such like trifles which have occasioned it.

THE



T H E
SUBSCRIBERS NAMES.

A



IR Rowland Afton, Bart.
Sir John Austen, Bart.
Sir John Anstruther, Bart.
Sir Thomas Afton, Bart.
Thomas Archer, Esq;
Henry Archer, Esq;
Benjamin Avery, LL. D.
The Rev. Mr. Thomas Amory

B

The Right Honourable the Lord Boyne, two sets.
Sir Francis Boynton, Bart.
Sir Robert Browne, Bart.
The Honourable Peter Bathurst, Esq;
Levi Ball, Esq;
Thomas Balle, Esq;
Papilion Balle, Esq;
John Bance, Esq;
Edmund Hungate Beaghan, Esq;
John Bedwell, Esq;
Henry Bendysh, Esq;
Stephen Biffe, Esq;
William Brockman, Esq;
Peter Buck, Esq;

Samuel

The Subscribers NAMES.

Samuel Burroughs, Esq; one of the Masters of the High Court of Chancery.

George Baily of Chichester, M. D.

The Rev. Mr. Birch, M. A. and F. R. S.

The Rev. Mr. Bowman, A. M.

Mr. Thomas Baker, of Chichester.

Mr. Thomas Baker, Surgeon.

Mr. Sylvanus Bevan.

Mr. John Bradbury.

Mr. George Bucher, Druggist.

C

The Right Honourable the Marquiss of Carnarvon.

Sir James Campbell, Bart.

Sir George Calwall, Bart.

Sir John Cope, Bart.

Sir George Champion, Knt.

John Campbell, of Pembrokehire, Esq;

John Caye, Esq;

Anthony Chamberlayne, Esq;

Kenrick Clayton, Esq;

John Charman, of Midhurst, Esq;

John Clerkson, Esq;

James Clithero, Esq;

Godfrey Copley, Esq;

Thomas Crispe, Esq;

John Crosse, Esq;

Col. Edward Colson.

Thomas Cotton, Gent.

Mrs. Anne Coghill.

Mr. John Carter.

Mr. Robert Caye, of Newcastle.

Mr. William Chandler.

Mr. Francis Cogan, Bookseller.

Mr. Coningham.

Mr. John Cooke.

Mr. S. Crompton, jun. of Derby.

Mr. Windmill Crumpton.

D

Peter Delme, *Esq;*
William Dixon, *Esq;*
Col. Ducker.
Richard Davies, *A. M. Fellow of Queen's-College,*
Cambridge.
Mr. Richard Drinkwater.
Mr. Matthew Dove.
Mr. Michael Dean.
Mr. Jeremiah Dyfon.

E

The Right Honourable the Earl of Egmont.
Sir Richard Ellys, *Bart.*
The Honourable George Evans, Esq;
William Rawlinson Earl, *Esq;*
Samuel Edwards, *Esq;*
John Elliot, *Esq;*
George Errington, *Esq;*
The Rev. Mr. Robert Emms.
Mr. John Elliot.

F

William Forrester, *Esq;*
Michael Foster, *Esq; Serjeant at Law.*
Frederick Frankland, *Esq;*
The Rev. Mr. Samuel Fancourt.
The Rev. Mr. Ebenezer Fletcher.
Mr. Timothy Foster, *Surgeon.*
Mr. Thomas Fletcher.

G

His Grace the Duke of Gordon.
Sir Henry Gough, *Bart.*
Sir James Grant, *Bart.*
Phillips Glover, *Esq;*
Thomas Gordon, *Esq;*

Henry

Henry Gray, *Esq;*
 George Gregory, *Esq;*
Mr. George Garnier.
Mr. John Gray, *Bookseller.*

H

Sir John Heathcote, *Bart.*
Sir William Heathcote, *Bart.*
 George Heathcote, *Esq;* *Alderman of London.*
 Edward Haiftwell, *Esq;*
 Henry Harnage, *Esq;*
 Jacob Harvey, *Esq;*
 William Hawkes, *of Marlborough, Esq;*
 Benjamin Hays, *Esq;*
 Samuel Hiberdine, *Esq;*
 Samuel Holden, *Esq;*
 Thomas Hucks, *Esq;*
 Robert Hucks, *Esq;*
 William Hucks, *Esq;*
 Joseph Hucks, *Esq;*
Dr. Samuel Horseman.
The Rev. Mr. Joseph Hallet, *jun. of Exeter.*
The Rev. Mr. Hitch.
Mr. James Hawkins.
Mr. Philip Hollingworth.
Mr. Richard Hett, *Bookseller.*

I

Sir William Jolliffe, *Bart.*
 Richard Jackson, *Esq;*
 Theodore Jacobson, *Esq;*
 Stephen Theodore Janßen, *Esq;*
 Ralph Jennison, *Esq;*

K

Ralph Knight, *Esq;*
 Robert Knight, *Esq;*

L

The Right Honourable the Earl of Limerick.

The Right Honourable the Earl of Loudon.

Henry Lapotre, *Esq;*

John Laroche, *Esq;*

Edward Leeds, *Esq;*

James Lever, *Esq;*

George Sawbridge Littell, *Esq;*

Robert Lowther, *Esq;*

Henry Lloyd, *Esq;*

Mr. Benjamin Lehook.

Mr. Samuel Lehook.

M

The Right Honourable the Earl of Macclesfield.

The Right Honourable the Earl of Malton, two sets.

The Honourable Thomas Maynard, *Esq;*

The Honourable Wortley Mountague, *Esq;*

The Honourable William Murray, *Esq;*

Ralph Marth, *Esq;*

Thomas Meech, *Esq;*

Thomas Missing, of Stubbington, *Esq;*

Benjamin Martin, of Chichester, *Esq;*

Peter Abraham Maseres, *Esq;*

Thomas Medlycot, *Esq;*

John Milner, *Esq;*

Robert More, *Esq;*

Corbyn Morris, *Esq;*

James Macree, *Esq;*

Capt. Matthew Martin.

Mr. Josiah Maber, *Gent.*

Mr. James Myonnet, *Gent.*

The Rev. Mr. William May.

Mr. Jasper Manduir, *Gent.*

Mr. William Meadows, *Bookseller*

Mr. Andrew Millar, *Bookseller,*

Mr.

N

Mr. John Noon, Bookseller in London.

Mr. Joseph Noon, Bookseller in Crewkhorne, Somersetshire.

O

The Right Honourable the Earl of Oxford and Mortimer.

Joseph Offley, Esq;

James Oglethorp, Esq;

Robert Ord, Esq;

William Osbaldiston, Esq;

Mr. Edmund Overall, sen. of the London-Assurance Office.

P

The Right Honourable the Lord Palmerston.

The Right Honourable Henry Pelham, Esq;

Thomas Parker, Esq; one of his Majesty's Barons of the Exchequer.

The Honourable William Poultney, Esq;

Edward Pauncefort, Esq;

Thomas Pelham, Esq;

William Perry, Esq;

William Piers, Esq;

The Rev. Mr. John Predden, of Chichester.

The Rev. Mr. Michael Pope, two sets.

Mr. Henry Pratt.

Q

His Grace the Duke of Queensberry.

R

Sir John Ramsden, Bart.

Sir Thomas Read, Bart.

Sir John Rushout, Bart.
Dudley Rider, Esq; his Majesty's Attorney General.
Richard Riccards, Esq;
John Rudge, Esq;
The Rev. Mr. Rogerfon, of Derby.
Mr. John Reignolds, Merchant.
Mr. Samuel Rhodes.
Mr. John Rhodes, Mercer.
Mr. William Robinson.

S

The Right Honourable the Earl of Shaftsbury.
The Right Honourable the Earl of Stanhope.
The Right Honourable the Lord Sundon.
Sir Brownlow Sherrard, Bart.
Sir Conrad Sprengell, Bart.
James Samson, Esq;
Samuel Skinner, Esq;
William Sloane, Esq;
William Sloper, Esq;
Cockin Sole, Esq;
Mr. Thomas Sanden, Comptroller of the Customs at
Chichester.
Mr. Joseph Sedgwick.

T

The Right Honourable the Marquis of Tweedale.
The Right Honourable the Lord Talbot.
Edward Thompson, Esq;
Christopher Tower, Esq;
Sigismund Trafford, Esq;
John Tucker, Esq;
Richard Turbut, Esq;
Robert Taylor, M. D.
The Rev. Mr. Trant.
Mr. Harding Tomkins.

V

The Honourable Henry Vane, Esq;
Mr. Samuel Vanderplank.
Mr. Benjamin Voyce.

W

The Right Honourable Sir Robert Walpole, Knight
of the Most Noble Order of the Garter.
Sir Rowland Wynne, Bart.
Thomas Walker, Esq;
Lewis Way, Esq;
John White, Esq;
Taylor White, Esq;
William Wilkinson, Esq;
Francis Wilks, Esq;
John Witherington, Esq;
William Woolaston, Esq;
Daniel Wray, Esq;
Thomas Wyndham, Esq;
The Rev. Dr. William Wood.
The Rev. Mr. Walker.
The Rev. Mr. Aaron Wood.
Mr. John Ward, Professor of Rhetoric in Gresham
College.
Capt. James Winter.
Mr. Deputy Wilkins.
Mr. Aaron Ward, Bookseller.
Mr. Anthony Walburge.
Mr. Samuel Wilson.

Y

The Honourable Sir William Younge, Bart. Knight
of the Most Honourable Order of the Bath.



THE
OLD WHIG.

N^o I. *March* 13. 1735.

*Quid libertate pretiosius? Porro quam turpe,
si ordinatio everfione, libertas servitute mu-
tetur?* *Plin. epist. xxiv. lib. 3.*

IBERTY is of that vast im-
portance and *infinite consequence*
to mankind, that 'tis impossi-
ble for any nation to value it
too highly, or to be *too jealous*
of every attempt that may have a tenden-
cy to infringe or destroy it. 'Tis one of the
noblest gifts of God to mankind, the founda-
tion of property, the *source of happiness* in
publick and private life, and essentially neces-
sary to *all rational* and acceptable religion.
Life itself, without liberty, is not only a bur-

VOL. I.

B

then

then to a generous mind, but even a *reproach* and scandal to human nature. For what greater shame to a reasonable being, endowed by the universal Parent with *freedom of choice*, and invested by him with an unalienable right to *reason*, judge, and act *for himself*, and to enjoy the fruits of his own diligence and labour; what greater shame, I say, to such a being, than to become the slave and *property* of another, and thus wear the chains and fetters of an infamous bondage!

So great was the *love of liberty* amongst the antient *Romans*, and such their detestation of slavery, that to distinguish their children from their servants and slaves, they called them *liberi*, to denote that they were *born to liberty*, and to inspire them with an early love to it. Yea, such was their sense of the invaluable blessings which flowed from it, that they *consecrated* liberty into a *deity*, and honoured her with temples, altars, and sacrifices. The *Athenians* also were educated, as the divine philosopher assures us, *ἐν πατριᾷ καὶ πόλει*, in the principles of *universal liberty*, and taught to contend for it both against *Greeks* and *Barbarians*, from their very infancy.

HAPPY would it be for all nations, who enjoy this excellent and *divine gift*, was there more care taken in the education of their children in this respect; were they made early acquainted with the nature and *worth of liberty*, inspired from the beginnings of life with an ardent love to it, and brought up with

with the *most perfect* abhorrence of all slavish principles, and of the several arts and methods by which wicked and designing men have invaded the rights, and at last impiously destroyed the noblest privileges of their country. This would be the best and most effectual method, that human prudence could possibly take, for the security of every valuable blessing of life, and to transmit the blessings of one generation down to another, even to the latest posterity.

MANY are the oppositions that have been made, and various the attempts that have been *practised*, to abridge and destroy the liberties of these happy and *envied* kingdoms; and on the other hand, *what treasures* have been spent, what blood hath been spilt to defend and maintain them! Thanks to heaven, we still enjoy them; and tho' the *purchase* hath been *costly*, it hath been far from being *too dear*. We are a kingdom not of *slaves*, but of *men*. Our estates, our persons, our families, our consciences, our religion, are all our own. We are governed, 'tis true; but we are *willingly governed*, because *govern'd by law*, and not by the arbitrary dictates of insolent and *lawless power*. We *obey* our prince, and our obedience is our *choice*; because he is the *father* and protector of the nation, and not the *tyrant* of the people. He rules with justice, and our submission is the effect of reverence and love. The *clergy*, who are men of religion, virtue, and learning,

ing, amongst us, are *highly respected*, and bountifully rewarded; and we gladly yield to their *persuasions of reason*, and willingly follow their conduct, when they lead us into the paths of truth and happiness. But, as *Britons* and *Protestants*, we *scorn* the imperious dictates of interested and designing ecclesiasticks, keep our conscience sacred to God, chuse our religion for ourselves, and worship every one according to his own mind, without the fears of an inquisition, or the terrors of a violent and cruel death. The fruits of our labour and industry are our certain and *sacred property*, which we use for our own conveniences, dispose of at our pleasure, and leave in security to our heirs after us. Our children, those *dear pledges* of paternal love, those strong securities of matrimonial affection, we educate them for ourselves, we train them up to those employments of life our own prudence and circumstances direct us to, without the distressing fears of seeing them torn from us by the violence of the prince, or the bigotry and superstition of crafty and tyrannical priests. In a word, our constitution, as *Britons* and *Protestants*, is this, That we are born ourselves to liberty, and can leave the fair and *godlike inheritance* to our posterity after us.

BUT are we so *very secure* in the possession of this inestimable treasure, as to be in *no danger* of being deprived of it? Are there no enemies that lie in wait to ruin us? no attempts of restless and envious men to defraud

fraud us of our *birth-rights*? no designs to disseise us by violence? Would to God this were our happy state, and that there was no need to write in defence of liberty, or to excite *Great-Britain* to a becoming jealousy and care that she doth not lose it.

BUT how many *visible symptoms* are there of danger? The nation is on all hands alarm'd with *the growth* of popery. The *great prelate* of our church hath warn'd his clergy of it by a *circular letter*: some of our clergy, and many of the dissenting teachers, are carrying on publick lectures, in a very laudable manner, to warn their congregations against the spirit, doctrines and practices of this antichristian superstition: authentick accounts from the north and west of *England*, and from the principality of *Wales*, speak of large numbers of converts, of the increase of mass-houses, the publick appearance of popish priests, and of the most open resort to their places of worship. In the two great cities of *London* and *Westminster*, they enter into publick conferences and disputes in favour of popery, privately spread amongst the people catechisms for *the reception of converts*, books of devotion, and *scandalous accounts* of the reformed religion, and of those illustrious and worthy men, who were the *glorious instruments* of providence in planting and establishing it in this and other nations of *Europe*. The number of priests about this city, is said, by a moderate computation, to be

no less than *ten thousand*; and the number of the *Papists* in the kingdom to amount to *six hundred thousand*. And are not these circumstances sufficient to excite us to a sense of our danger? Do they not loudly call on every *Briton* and *Protestant* to put himself upon his guard against so fatal and growing an evil?

BUT to what can the growth of this absurd and false religion be owing? A religion *founded in slavery* and ignorance, that tramples on all the rights of private judgment, and destroys the liberties of nations wherever it prevails. If it increases among the inhabitants of this kingdom, it must proceed from this, amongst other causes, that too many have *lost the sense* of liberty, and are ignorant of the *true value* of it; that they understand not the unalienable rights of conscience, the privileges of christianity, and those *substantial principles* upon which the reformation was founded, and originally settled amongst us. 'Tis in the nature of things impossible, that popery can prevail amongst any part of mankind, but slavery must increase in proportion with it. Liberty and popery are two absolute and irreconcilable contradictions; as opposite to each other as light to darkness, and as heaven to hell.

THE *first step* which a convert to this religion must take, is the *renouncing* his senses and reason, and *sacrificing* his judgment and conscience to the authority and dictates of a proud and *domineering priest*; who, when he
hath

N^o I. *The OLD WHIG.* 7

hath thus secured *the property* of him, finds it an easy work to retain him in eternal vassalage, by prejudicing him against all means of conviction, and by instilling into his mind a *superstitious fear*, that every thought and every attempt to free himself from *his holy chains*, is a mortal and damnable sin. Since therefore this growth of popery is a demonstrable proof that principles of slavery are advancing amongst us, what can be a more incumbent duty upon every *Englishman*, than to endeavour to revive the ancient zeal of the *British* nation against the incroachments of this accursed evil, and to inspire them with the sentiments of CONSISTENT PROTESTANTS, by leading them to a thorough knowledge of those excellent principles, by which alone the protestant religion can be supported and defended.

AND this is the more necessary, because there are not wanting men amongst ourselves, who, tho' protestants by profession, yet retain and inculcate the *most dangerous* principles of popery, and are for setting up an *independent power* in this kingdom, subversive of his Majesty's prerogative, and all the valuable rights of the subject; men, who envy *Britons* the privilege of thinking, judging, speaking, and writing for themselves; who are sworn enemies to the *liberty of the press*; who *insolently face* the civil government, and even *threaten* majesty itself, if it dares to dispute or

contradict their humble advices, their sacred commands.

As a proof of this, I appeal to a passage published in the *Weekly Miscellany* of Feb. 22. last past; a paper thought to have the countenance and assistance of some very great and able pens. The passage is this, “ The Rev. “ Dr. R. who was lately disappointed of the “ b---p---k of G-----r, hath kissed his Majesty’s hand for a much more considerable “ preferment in *Ireland*. From whence in “ justice it ought to be *presumed*, that the “ Doctor hath purged himself from what he “ was charged with in relation to his faith: “ since it cannot decently be supposed, that “ under a government, so tender of the “ rights of all the subjects, any invasion shall “ be made of the *essential* privileges of the “ *christian church*, or that those privileges, “ which never yet have been violated in any “ part of *christendom*, should be sacrificed to “ the pleasure of any one man, in a manner, “ that might give just offence to the whole “ bench of bishops, and the body of the “ clergy, and all the orthodox members of “ the churches of *England* and *Ireland*, “ which his majesty hath so often declared “ that he will protect and encourage.”

’Tis very observable, that the author of this remarkable passage, says only, that *it ought to be in justice presumed*, that Dr. R. hath purged himself. The thing is not certain, ’tis but a presumption at best; but ’tis a presumption.

presumption, that, it seems, is founded in *justice*. But who must judge whether there be any real justice to support it? To whom hath the doctor purged himself? Why doth not the purgation publickly appear? If this purgation of the doctor *hath no fact* to support the presumption of it, if in reality *he hath not purged himself*, and ought not to purge himself of an infamous charge to our *English* inquisitors of the faith; why then, *Britons*, behold the character that is drawn of your prince by this prostituted pen, this advocate for the inquisitorial power, and for the subjection of the crown itself to the lordly claims of the *more sacred priesthood*! His majesty is, in the representation of this insolent writer, what I relate with horror, *an invader of the essential privileges of the christian church, and one who hath sacrificed those privileges, which never yet have been violated in any part of christendom. He hath given just offence to the whole bench of bishops, the body of the clergy, and all the orthodox members of the churches of England and Ireland; and hath hereby broken his own promises to them, and his repeated declarations that he will protect and encourage them.*

If this is not an endeavour to *spread disaffection* throughout the clergy, and members of the churches of *England and Ireland*, to his majesty's person and government, and setting up an authority wholly destructive of the regal power, 'twill be hard to say what is so.
But

But how low is the supremacy of the crown reduced, that it must thus ask advice, and grant no preferments in the church without the leave of our new inquisitors! Where are the liberties of the clergy and people of *England*, if purgations must be the consequence of the vile charges of envy and malice! Which of our reverend prelates can sit with safety on their bench, if they must be obliged to defend themselves against the *base insinuations* of scandalous and abandoned informers! Awake, O ye *Whigs*, in defence of injured majesty, the honour of your church, thus impudently aspersed, and your own, and your fellow-subjects liberties thus insolently invaded. Inquisitions, purgations, priestly powers, and the like, are the *goodly groupe* of doctrines, now openly avowed, and publickly pleaded for. In opposition to these exorbitant principles and claims, the OLD WHIG is resolved to make his appearance in the world, demands your patronage, and questions not your encouragement and protection; especially as he brings with him no more of *republican* than he doth of *slavish* principles, is a hearty friend to the present happy constitution, and an enemy to none but those who are enemies to the religion and liberties of his country.



N U M B. II.

*Quid libertate pretiosius? Porro quam turpe,
si ordinatio everfione, libertas servitute mu-
tetur?* Plin. *epist.* xxiv. *lib.* 3.

I Am very glad to find, by several good in-
formations that I have received, that the
title I have assumed, and *the design* I appear
to engage in, meet with a kind and favourable
reception amongst the inhabitants of this great
and wealthy city: nor indeed could less be
expected, than that a paper, *devoted to the
cause of liberty*, should engage the attention
and receive the *general encouragement* of those,
who enjoy the fruits, and share the advan-
tages of this invaluable blessing; who owe
their trade and extensive commerce, their
riches and plenty, the security of all their
properties, and the unmolested exercise of
their religion, to liberty.

No man *is born intirely for himself*, but
is bound by the laws of reason and religion
to consult and *promote*, as far as he is able,
the welfare of others, especially the publick
good of that society of which he is a member;
on the safety and happiness of which, *his
own personal interest* hath a constant and intire
dependance. And as almost all the valuable
blessings

blessings of human life must necessarily stand or fall with liberty, an attempt to *explain the nature* and vindicate the principles of it, to settle its boundaries, to defend it against the inroads of slavery, to discover *the private and distant designs* of wicked men formed against the interest of it, and vigorously to oppose, by solid reason and argument, *every publick attack* that may be made upon it, must be acknowledged to be worthy the character of a good citizen, a real patriot, and a lover of mankind.

'TIS with a *sole view* of serving this glorious cause, that I appear in the world, under the title of an OLD WHIG; because it hath ever been one of the distinguishing parts of the character of a true *Whig*, to be zealous for the liberties of the subject, in opposition to the claims of *arbitrary power* in our kings, and the practices of factious bigotted ecclesiasticks, who have envied us the liberties providence hath kindly favoured us with, and been frequently employed *as tools* by ambitious princes to ruin and inflave us; that by depriving us of our civil liberties, they might rob us of our religious ones too, and leave us nothing but what we held at the precarious pleasure of the *mitre* or the *crown*.

THE name of *Whig* took its rise in the reign of King *Charles II.* and was bestowed on the best patriots then in the kingdom, as a term of *disgrace*, for their opposing the arbitrary measures which were carrying on by
that

that monarch, and vigorously asserting the rights of parliament, and the privileges of the people. They were true friends to the old *English* constitution. They saw with concern the attempts that were made to ruin it by *the reigning prince*, and dreaded the prospect of *a popish successor*, whom they knew to be of a warm and *furios temper*, and under whom they had just reason to fear *the subversion* of their religion, and the loss of all their liberties as *Englishmen* and protestants. And therefore, as they well knew that *no possible expedient* could be found out to secure the liberties of their country and the reformed religion, under the government of a popish prince, bigotted to his own superstition, and under the influence and management of bigotted and crafty priests, they were for pursuing *the only measure* that under God could possibly save them from the impending ruin, and for *excluding* him from the succession to the throne, who was by principle and religion, an avowed enemy to the nation. The names of *Russel, Cavendish, Capel, Montague* and *Winnington*, will ever be remembered with honour, who were the most zealous promoters and advocates for the *exclusion bill*.

TRUE and genuine *Whiggism* therefore consists in *a zealous attachment* to the liberties of mankind, and particularly in a warm and habitual concern for, and resolution to support, all the just laws and privileges of the *British*

British nation. It considers our princes as invested with their supreme authority for the publick welfare; as *the executors* of the laws, *the fathers* of their people, and the protectors of all good subjects in their rights and properties. It esteems the laws which bound the *prince's power*, equally sacred with those which determine *the measures of obedience in the subject*; and is as much an enemy to all *tyrannical proceedings* in the one, as it is to *rebellion* and treason in the other. It regards the *obligations* between the king and his people as *reciprocal*; and the obedience of the latter as then only, *according to the constitution*, due, when they enjoy their just protection under the government of the former. It then reverences their persons, chearfully contributes to the support of their state and dignity, and studies the ease, the honour and prosperity of their administration. In a word, tho' it bears an irreconcilable and *mortal enmity* to tyrants and oppressors, and considers them as the plagues and *curSES* of mankind, and *is and will be* no longer subject to them, than whilst constrained by necessity and force; yet it places benevolent, wise, and righteous princes amongst the most exalted characters of human life, honours them as the *true vicegerents* of almighty God, the best as well as the greatest of beings, and pays them an obedience that is the effect of inclination, and flows equally from a sense of duty, gratitude and interest.

THUS

THUS friendly are the principles of the genuine *Whigs* to the office and dignity of kings and princes. But then, on the other hand, they consider all men as invested by God and nature with *certain unalienable* rights and privileges, which they can't without a crime sacrifice themselves, and of which they can't without the highest oppression and cruelty be deprived by others. Such is the right of all men to judge for themselves in all matters that relate purely to conscience, to chuse their own religion, *to avow* their principles, to defend them when opposed, and to worship God according to their several persuasions, and the dictates of their own reason and judgment, without any interruption from the civil power, or being made subject to *positive or negative penalties* upon this account. They look upon societies as formed and entered into, not to abridge men of their most valuable and sacred rights, but with a view to their *better security* in the possession of them, whether natural or acquired; and think that the great end of all *just law* and government is the full and *intire protection* of all those who contribute by a peaceable and useful behaviour to the common welfare, and do not by any wilful violation of the public peace forfeit those privileges, which they have otherwise an *equal claim* to with the rest of mankind.

AND as religion can no otherwise contribute to the benefit or safety of civil government, than as the principles of it are heartily believed,

believed, and the *internal habits* and dispositions of it are implanted and prevail in the mind, they look upon all force in the affairs of religion as criminal, unjust, and tyrannical in its nature ; because it cannot possibly produce that conviction which is necessary to a rational persuasion and firm belief ; and they regard *all discouragements* of every kind, for non-compliance with any particular external rites and ceremonies, to which the name of religion hath been too often given, as *absurd* and wicked : for as the being and prosperity of civil government hath not the least dependance on, and can never be promoted by the observance of any such particular external rites ; and as the most punctual conformity to them, where the inward principles of religion are wanting, is not giving any real security to society of the fidelity and good behaviour of those who observe them ; so, on the other hand, the laying persons under discouragements and penalties, because they *cannot in conscience* and judgment submit to the use of them, is really punishing them on account of things which do not in their nature deserve punishment, and *are not* indeed properly *cognizable* by the civil magistrate. And 'tis equally ridiculous to imagine, that a man can forfeit any of the common rights of subjects, because he scruples an habit, a gesture, or particular form of words, that others may think fit to make use of, as it would be to suppose, that he may be de-

I
prived

prived of those rights, for not being in a fashionable dress, or of a *statutable form*, colour, or height of body.

As a true *Whig* therefore believes the great *intention* of law is every man's *protection*; so he thinks every subject equally bound to pay a just obedience to all the righteous and equitable laws of the community; and that no kind of character, civil or sacred, can set any one above the obedience of a subject, or ought to exempt him from the penalties annexed to acts of injustice and violence, and the wilful breach of the good order and peace of societies. And therefore, if any, under the *sacred cover* of religion, advance principles destructive of the end of government, or manifestly inconsistent with the liberties of the people; if they *propagate hatred* and division between the several members of the society; if by publick discourses or writings they inculcate *persecuting principles*, and endeavour to inflame mens passions and resentments against their peaceable fellow-subjects, merely because they happen to dress religion in a different garb from themselves, or choose it plain, and without the ornament of dress: he looks on all such persons as *turbulent incendiaries* and invaders of the publick peace, as avowed enemies of society, as men of dangerous and seditious principles; and thinks that civil government ought to be *extremely jealous* of their conduct, keep them *under proper restraint*, and resolutely

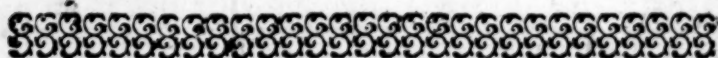
lutely protect those they may attempt to injure; and not gratify their pride, malice, bigotry, and lust of power, by sacrificing innocent good subjects either to their clamour or resentments. And this he is persuaded is *prudent* as well as *just*; not only from the natural tendency that an universal protection of all good subjects hath to promote universal harmony, peace and concord amongst the members of society, but because it hath been found true by repeated experience, that when the *high claims* of assuming and imperious ecclesiasticks have been too far and *too long indulged*, civil government itself hath been at length dishonoured, weakened, insulted, threatened, and prostituted to the vilest purposes, and indeed the very ends of it destroy'd, or its Being endangered.

As to matters of a merely civil nature, and the constitution and form of government that is peculiar to the *British* nation, a true *Whig* is zealous for the *just prerogatives* and powers of the *crown*, and for the rights and *privileges of parliament*. He considers this *great council* of the kingdom, composed of the several orders of our nobility, and of the commons of *Great-Britain* of the first figure and fortune in their country, as the representatives of the whole body of the people, *the guardians* of their respective privileges, *the source* of law, and the *dernier resort* to which *Britons* have a right to apply for redress of grievances, deliverance from oppression, and protection

tection from injuries, in all cases in which inferior courts may either deny justice, or cannot give it. He esteems their *frequent meetings* essential to the welfare and prosperity of the nation; *their consent* necessary to supply the wants, and provide for the necessities of the government itself; and all their resolutions and acts, when conducted by wisdom, and founded in justice, and thus manifestly conducive to the universal good, and finally confirmed by the royal authority, to be binding upon all good subjects, *not only for wrath, but for conscience sake*. And tho' prudence may sometimes require men to sit as easy as they can under really oppressive and *injurious laws*, yet 'tis an essential principle of *Whiggism*, that as no good and faithful subject can deserve either discouragement or oppression, every one that apprehends himself to be aggrieved by any particular laws in force, hath an inherent right *to petition* this high and *honourable court* for relief; and such is that integrity, equity, and publick spirit, by which their resolutions are generally guided and determined; that he hath the highest reason, sooner or later, to expect it.

THESE are the principles *I espouse*, and am determined *to defend*, as an OLD WHIG, against all contrary principles and practices whatsoever. The mere names of parties I shall never regard. The love of liberty and virtue I shall commend in all; and as freely censure the maxims and measures of arbitrary

and tyrannical power, by whatsoever set of men they are espoused and practised. I shall, in particular, narrowly watch every degree of apostacy from true *Whiggism* in the *Whigs* themselves; and such of them may expect, as they deserve, to be severely exposed. Nor shall I suffer myself to be perverted from doing justice on others, by any *grave appearances*, professions of sanctity, or pretensions to extraordinary and *divine powers*, as often as I find them opposing the true interest of their country, and pursuing methods that are in themselves, or consequences, inconsistent with the just claims, natural rights, and unquestionable privileges of free *Britons* or protestants.



N U M B. III.

Quid libertate pretiosius? Porro quam turpe, si ordinatio everfione, libertas servitute mutetur?

Plin. *epist.* xxiv. *lib.* 3.

THE name of *Protestant* took its rise from the following occasion: In the year 1529, at a diet of the princes of the empire held at *Spires* in *Germany*, it was decreed by the majority there present, "That
"in

“ in those places, where the * edict of
 “ *worms* had been received, it should be
 “ lawful for no one to change his religion:
 “ that in those places, where the new religion
 “ (*i. e.* the *Lutheran*) was exercised, it
 “ should be maintained, till the meeting of a
 “ council, if the antient (the *Papish*) reli-
 “ gion could not be restored, without dan-
 “ ger of disturbing the publick peace: But
 “ that the mass should not be abolished, nor
 “ the *Catholicks* hindred from the free exer-
 “ cise of their religion, nor any one of them
 “ allowed to embrace *Lutheranism*: That
 “ the *Sacramentarians* should be banished
 “ the empire: That the *Anabaptists* should
 “ be punished with death; and that no
 “ preachers should explain the gospel in any
 “ other sense than what was approved by the
 “ church.”

AGAINST this decree six princes of the
 empire entered their protest, *viz.* *John*, elec-
 tor of *Saxony*; *George*, marquis of *Branden-
 burg*; *Philip*, landgrave of *Hesse*; and *Wolff-
 gang*, prince of *Anhalt*; to whom the four-
 teen following free cities of *Germany* joined
 themselves, *viz.* *Strasburg*, *Norimberg*, *Ulm*,
Constance, *Lindaw*, *Memmingen*, *Kempen*,
Nordlingen, *Halibrun*, *Reutlingen*, *Isne*, *St.*

* The edict of *WORMS* was published in the year 1521, by which *LUTHER* was proscribed as an heretick and schismatick, and all persons prohibited to receive and protect him; and the most cruel punishments ordained against his patrons and protectors, the readers of his books, and followers of his doctrines.

Gall, Weissenburg and Windsheim. And from this protest the *Lutherans* first obtained the name of *Protestants*; which was afterwards given in common to all who separated themselves from the tyrannical and idolatrous practices of the church of *Rome*.

THE things which these noble and excellent princes and cities of the empire protested against, were, the *restraint* that was laid on, and the *violence* that was offered to the consciences of men, by this decree of the popish princes and prelates at *Spires*; by which they ordained, that *no person should change their religion, nor any Catholics be allowed to embrace Lutheranism.* They considered that there was an *authority superior* to that of earthly princes, and that in the matters of religion all men were accountable to the tribunal of God himself; that the *rule of religion* was the writings of the inspired prophets and apostles, and that it was the duty of every christian to *judge of the sense* of them, according to the light and convictions of his conscience, and to adhere stedfastly to the sacred truths contained in them; and by consequence *to renounce* all principles and practices which appeared to them contrary to, or inconsistent with the dictates of those sacred writings. Hence, in the beginning of their appeal, the princes “ appealed for themselves
“ and their subjects, and for all who either
“ then did, or for the future should, adhere
“ to the holy word of God; and declared,
“ that

“ that they had no other design but the honour of God and his most holy word,
 “ and to provide for their own and others
 “ salvation; and that they neither acted nor
 “ intended any thing but what they were
 “ fully convinced they owed to their own
 “ consciences, and even to God himself.”

IN consequence of this noble assertion of the rights and privileges of conscience, they farther protested against the decree, *as prohibiting* ministers and preachers to declare and publish their religious principles, and what they apprehended to be the sense and meaning of the word of God; and *as allowing* the claims of the church to interpret scripture, and declare the sense of it for others. For they considered that all the great innovations and corruptions of religion were introduced under her pretended authority; that the sacred writings were the supreme judge in all matters relating to christianity; that they were the best interpreters of themselves; that the church had no other rule of her faith and practice; that this rule was intended for the *common benefit* of all christians; and that by consequence it was their duty, not only to judge of the meaning of it for themselves, but to declare their sense of it to others, and to bring as many to the acknowledgment of the sacred truths contained in it as they could, whosoever were the persons that should contradict or oppose them.

AND as they knew that violence and force in matters of religion were absolutely inconsistent with, and destructive of, these rights and liberties they pleaded for in behalf of themselves and others, they finally protested against the measures of persecution, and the punishments intended and ordained by this *bloody decree* against those who had embraced the principles of the Reformation. For thus they declare their mind: " There is,
 " say they, a natural union amongst men;
 " and that as it is lawful for any one, without being commanded, to interpose for
 " another who is condemned to death, much
 " more was it lawful for them to do it, who
 " were members of the one spiritual body of
 " Christ, and the children of one heavenly
 " father; and thus to take care of their spiritual brethren, and do what they could
 " to provide for the safety of themselves and
 " their neighbours, in an affair that related
 " to their eternal salvation or condemnation."

How glorious a protest was this in behalf of the liberties of the church of God!—
 To see *sovereign princes*, not proudly usurping a dominion over the consciences of their subjects, nor presumptuously challenging a right and power to bend and reduce them to their own religion; but publicly asserting, maintaining and defending, that their subjects had *an equal right* to the instructions of the word of God with themselves, and owed it to him and their own consciences, to choose

choose their religion from this divine and *incorruptible source* of truth.-----To see them thus adorning their high birth and dignity, by becoming *advocates* for the supreme authority of the King of kings; boldly opposing the haughty and imperious claims of men, who under the characters of the *church*, had invaded the prerogatives of the *only Saviour* of mankind, generously pleading for the oppressed liberties of the christian world, and kindly interesting themselves in behalf of those, who for the cause of righteousness and truth were condemned to death.-----Peace, *everlasting peace*, rest upon your spirits, O ye illustrious heroes! and let your names never be mentioned, in the protestant world, without paying the just tribute of honour and reverence to your memories!

NOR must I forget to felicitate my fellow-protestants in these kingdoms, that his *present Majesty* is descended from one of those noble houses, who joined in this *protest* against the cruelties and superstitions of the church of *Rome*: Happy prince! in whom the love of liberty is an hereditary virtue! born to be placed by providence at the head of that cause of liberty, his ancestors so early embraced, so resolutely maintained; and to be the defender of the faith, which spurns at the dictates of all human pride, and owes its being, only to the force of conviction, the evidence of reason, and the supreme and infallible authority of the God of truth,

THESE

THESE were the principles, by adhering to which, the first reformers obtained the name of *Protestants*; and as I myself glory in this honourable name, I should now proceed, in imitation of the great examples before-mentioned, to enter my own protest, in the name, and in the behalf of all the faithful, steady, *Consistent Protestants* of his Majesty's dominions. But I give place to the following letter, as a testimony of the high respect I bear to the members of that learned university from whence it comes, and to assure them I shall be glad of their continued correspondence.

To the Author of the OLD WHIG.

S I R,

Cambridge, *March* 16.

THE title of your first paper was sufficient to recommend it to our perusal; and I can assure you, Sir, for your encouragement, there are great numbers of our learned body, who perfectly approve both your performance and design. We were all *particularly* pleased to see that you had fallen upon that impudent passage in *the Weekly Miscellany*, relating to Dr. R. and we could have wish'd, (considering how plainly it seems design'd to insinuate a dishonourable reflection on his Majesty, and the administration)

tion) that you had been somewhat more particular in your animadversions upon it. We, who live at this distance from the busy world, are always glad to receive information from those who live nearer the fountain-head; and therefore we intreat you to consider this matter again, and lend us *your* assistance.

BEFORE the promotion of Dr. R. it was the language put into the mouths of these *Miscellanists*, that their patron, *when his opinion was ask'd, was obliged to say what he thought of persons recommended to preferment; that he claimed no farther influence, but left it to the higher powers to determine what was proper to be done.* The *higher powers* have, it seems, at last determin'd otherwise than he prescrib'd and dictated: and *now*, what is the consequence? A sort of anathema, or bull of excommunication, is immediately thunder'd out against the higher powers, by these *suffragan* writers, and majesty itself is traduc'd and vilified, for having violated the rights of the christian church. 'Tis impossible, we see, to discover the real temper and disposition of some men, till they are once heartily provok'd. Before this disobligation, the design of these writers was disguised under the appearance of a profound respect for his Majesty, and a great zeal for the service of the administration; but now, behold! the mask is pulled off, and their spirit and temper appear without disguise.

DR.

DR. R. (says the *Miscellanist*) who was lately disappointed of the bishoprick of G——r, has kiss'd his Majesty's hand for a more considerable preferment in Ireland; from whence in justice, it ought to be presumed, that the doctor has purged himself from what he was charged with, in relation to the faith. Now, Sir, we presum'd, that his Majesty did indeed disbelieve the malicious and groundless reports which had been propagated against the doctor. We presum'd, that his Majesty saw the little, base, designing views of the doctor's enemies. We presum'd it likewise to be a happy presage, that every imperious, ambitious churchman, and his accomplices, should in due time receive their just reward. But it never entered into into our heads to presume, that the doctor must have purged himself from an accusation, the exact particulars of which, few have heard, and still fewer believe. We could see no necessity of a purgation where the accuser wants credit, and where the credibility of his testimony must always be destroyed, by only remembering Dr. *Hutchinson*.

BUT (says the *Miscellanist*) the doctor must certainly have purged himself, since it can never DECENTLY be supposed, that under a government, so tender of the rights of subjects, any invasion should be made of the essential privileges of the christian church, or that those privileges, which never yet have been violated in any part of Christendom, should be sacrificed to the pleasure of any one man, in a manner

manner that might give just offence to the whole bench of bishops, and the body of the clergy, and the orthodox members of the churches of England and Ireland, which his Majesty has so often declared he will protect and encourage.

'Tis easy to see, that there is indeed an *indecentcy* in the mere *supposition* that such a thing would be done; and 'tis a much greater *indecentcy* surely, to insinuate that it is done. For what foundation is there for such an injurious suggestion? If Dr. R. has not purg'd himself, as the *Miscellanist* would have him, yet for our parts, we see no *rights of the church* that are violated, unless it be a *right* (which the clergy indeed have been generally too fond of, and which wise princes have always abridg'd them of) a *right* to calumniate, and defame one another without cause. *We* can see no *rights of subjects* invaded, unless it be the right of subjects to dictate to their prince, and prescribe to him rules for the distribution of his own favours. *We* see no *privileges* sacrific'd to the pleasure of *one* man, unless it be the privilege of *another*, to misrepresent the worthiest clergymen, and by his exorbitant influence, engross the sole disposal of all ecclesiastical promotions. *We* see no *bishops*, whom this can displease, and give offence to, unless there are any who desire to exalt the church above the state, and encroach even upon the royal prerogative itself. In short, Sir, when we consider the course of proceeding, with regard to Dr. R. the character of the

the

the accuser, and the promoters of the accusation, as well as the methods, by which the *Miscellanist*, and other writers of that class, have endeavoured first to blacken the doctor, and then the administration; we can look upon the whole, as nothing but a plot of some zealous bigots, who, as *Erasmus* complains in a like case, *subornarunt quendam sui sodalitiis virum effrontem, effrænis licentiæ & petulantia; jactum ad conspuendam, Erasmus, nihil recusantem modo innotescat; non miror hunc hominem insanire, sed patres illos demiror quorum auctoritate fretus hæc audet: Qui si non vident quantum dedecoris & invidiæ conciliaturi sint ordini suo, desidero in illis judicium; sed si, quod arbitrer, favent, desidero in illis sobriam mentem.*

If we judge wrong, as to this affair in general, or any of its particulars, you will, I hope, be so good as to rectify our mistakes; and in return, you shall from time to time receive an account of what passes in the university worth your notice. We are,

S I R,

Your humble servants,

CANTABRIGIENSES.

NUMB. IV.

*Cum creaturæ nulli, nullis angelis, æternum
 & immutabile decretum divinæ voluntatis,
 quam in evangelio patefecit, mutare liceat;
 servemus id nos quoque immotum & incor-
 ruptum, nec ex humana sapientia aliquid
 contra evangelium, aut incerta præter evan-
 gelium statuamus. Formul. Refor. con-
 script. à Luth. &c.*

IF the conduct of the first reformers, in
 separating from the communion of the
 church of Rome, was commendable in itself,
 and can be justified by reasons of the highest
 importance; if they had a *real right* to follow
 the dictates of their own consciences in the
 great affairs of religion, and to *protest* against
 all attempts made, either by the civil or ecclesi-
 astical power, to infringe or deprive them
 of this inestimable privilege: the consequence
 is, that since truth or reason are immutable
 in their nature, every man, in every age and
 nation, hath an *equal claim* to the same li-
 berty; and may and ought steadily and vi-
 gorously to oppose and *protest against* all prin-
 ciples and practices, that are inconsistent
 with, or subversive of it.

SUCH

SUCH indeed who are slaves to worldly and corrupt passions, fond of *imaginary characters* and prerogatives, and willing to keep others in subjection to themselves, will not fail to *stigmatize* even the cause of liberty itself, as *faction* and sedition. To plead for it, is with them *licentiousness* and libertinism--- To *question* their claims, is sure to be represented as a mark of *infidelity*--- To *protest* against either their corruptions of religion, or their usurpations and abuses of power, argues in their judgment *profaneness* and enmity to all religion, and is even a crime to be *punished* by the civil magistrate.

BUT as censures of this kind are generally very unjust, and have seldom any thing to support them but ignorance and presumption, they can affect and terrify none but weak and superstitious minds. All wise men will acknowledge that the *cause of liberty* is the cause of God, and despise the impotent reproaches of weak or designing *bigots*. The name of *Protestant* is an *honourable badge* of freedom; and every *Consistent Protestant* must hate every mark of oppression and slavery, be a strenuous asserter of his own rights, and a zealous advocate for the rights of others. The reformation owes its being to men, who had the *honesty* and *courage* to oppose their own *private* judgments to the *established* opinions of the whole christian world; *to think for themselves*, tho' threatened with all the terrors of civil punishment in the present life, and

and damnation in a future state, for *such dreadful impiety* and insolence; and to *protest* against those errors in opinion, and superstitions in practice, which the church had *sanc-tified*, and the state *established*. And as truth is always the same, and as *the reasons* upon which the reformers acted were neither *local* nor *temporary*, but such as will hold good to the end of the world amongst all nations, I shall now assert my own principles; and do *by these presents*, in my own name, and in the name of all the *Consistent Protestants* of his Majesty's dominions, enter and publish this my following PROTEST.

I do in the first place therefore *publick-ly declare*, that the sacred writings, which contain a revelation of the will of God, are the *only sure, authentick, and infallible rule* of the faith and practice of every christian man, by which *all opinions are to be* fairly and *impartially examined*, by whomsoever they may be taught or recommended, or by whatsoever authority, whether civil or ecclesiastical, they may be enforced: And that nothing ought to be believed *as a necessary article* of the christian religion, which is *contrary* to, or *not contained* in, these scriptures of divine inspiration and authority; but rather ought to be rejected as false in itself, or unnecessary in its nature.

AND in consequence of this, I do PROTEST against setting up and allowing the *decrees* of any men, or body of men, as of *equal au-
D thority*

thority and obligation with the word of God; whether they be councils, synods, convocations, or general assemblies; whether they be antient or modern, *Romish* or *Protestant*, episcopal, Presbyterian or Independent, Popes, Fathers and Doctors; whether they pretend to *absolute infallibility*, or * only to the humbler grace of *moral certainty* and assurance. In virtue of the obedience and submission I owe to the heavenly and *universal pastor* of christians, I *wholly* and for ever *renounce* them as *my masters*, authoritative guides, and supreme directors in all or any the affairs of religion and salvation; and all their traditions, canons, and injunctions, as things not worthy or able to oblige the conscience, because not proceeding from *the infallible Spirit of truth*, nor attended with the sanction of a divine command. And in this I have the first reformers, as well as the reason of the thing, to justify and support me; who frequently declared *that the scripture doctrine ought to be kept inviolable and incorrupt; and that nothing should be bound on christians by human prudence, contrary to the gospel, or that is uncertain besides the gospel.* Thus also are we taught by the twentieth article of our own excellent church, which declares, *That 'tis not lawful for the church to ordain any thing that is contrary to God's word written. Wherefore, tho' the church be a witness and keeper of holy writ, yet as it ought not to decree any*

* See Dr. Waterland's *Import. of Trinity*, p. 178, &c.
thing

thing against the same ; so besides the same, ought it not to enforce any thing to be believed for necessity of salvation.

AND as this holy writ is the only certain and *authentick rule* to every christian in all things relating to his conscience and salvation ; I do farther *assert* and *maintain*, agreeable to the repeated declarations of the first and most learned Protestants, that in all things *essential* to the faith and practice of a christian man, *the scriptures are plain* and easy to be understood, by all that will impartially and diligently read and study them ; that there is no ambiguity or *mysteriousness* in their distinguishing and *necessary* doctrines ; nothing unintelligible or *hard to be understood* in the great duties and virtues they recommend and inculcate : And that the charging the sacred writings with *obscurity* and uncertainty, is contrary to the plain declarations of these writings themselves, is an abuse of the christian revelation, an insult upon that Holy Spirit, by which the authors of them were guided, and *a wicked reproach* thrown on them by corrupt and designing priests, to draw the christian world into *a slavish dependence* on themselves ; that by thus obscuring this sacred and heavenly light, they may without fear or discovery *drive the hood-winked flock* of Christ, prone and headlong, into their own superstitions, render them *implicitly obedient* to their arbitrary decrees, and make them, without controul, subservient to the

views of their ambition, avarice, and luxury.

AND as this infallible rule of the word of God is thus plain in itself, and obvious to the understanding of all honest inquirers, I do farther *assert*, that *every private christian* is under an indispensable obligation to *search it for himself*, and make the best use of it that he can for his information in the will of God, and the nature of christianity: That he hath an *unalienable right* impartially to judge of the *sense* and meaning of it, and to follow his *judgment* wheresoever it leads him; even an *equal right* with the bishops and pastors of the church themselves; who tho' their office leads them to *instruct* and inform others, yet have no allowance to *lord it over the heritage of God*, to exercise *dominion over their consciences*, nor to bind on them the burthen of their own decrees, or their *fallible* interpretations of the *infallible* word of God.

AND in consequence of this, I do farther *protest* against that unrighteous and ungodly pretence, of making the writings of the *fathers*, the decrees of councils and synods, or the *sense of the church*, to be the rule and *standard of judging* of the *sense* of scripture, as *Popish*, antichristian, and *infinitely dangerous* to the church of God; since this hath been the very *source* of all the innovations in religion, and *gross corruptions* of the christian faith and morality, that had for so many ages defaced, dishonoured, and even destroyed christianity itself.

AND

AND as every christian hath thus an unquestionable right *to judge* of the sense and meaning of scripture for himself, I do farther *assert* and maintain, that he hath an equal right *to the peaceable and constant* possession of his own principles, and ought to be left by all men, and secured by civil government, in the full and undisturbed enjoyment of them; even tho' his principles may be, in many things, contrary to *the established orthodoxy* of the nation he lives in, the systems of priests, the religion of the prince, or *the implicit faith* of the disciplin'd and ductile multitude.

AND as truth is no private man's property; as all christians are under strong obligations to propagate it; I do also *declare*, that every christian hath a farther right, *to publish* and vindicate by reason and argument *his own opinions*; to speak freely against all corruptions of religion, either in principle or practice; to *separate from* such communions and societies of christians, whose doctrine and worship he cannot *in conscience approve* of; and to enjoy without disturbance, oppression, disgrace, or any kind of punishment, ecclesiastical or civil, the liberty of serving God with any other society, as he himself shall judge to be *most expedient* and useful for him. And this I am the more fully convinced of, because, unless this liberty of religion is *the inherent right* of every man, in every age and nation, it can never be the right of any man in any: And therefore the publishing of

christianity in the world, and the protesting against the corruptions of the church of *Rome*, must be condemned as unreasonable and unwarrantable ; since christianity, and the reformation, were both introduced *in opposition to the power* and injunctions of the civil magistrate, as well as the prevailing religions, and established superstitions of nations and kingdoms.

FROM hence it follows, that all persons whatsoever, whatever be their *dignity*, characters, stations, *offices*, assumed powers, or pretended *prerogatives* in the church of God, who shall at any time, either in their sacred ministrations, in their publick writings, or in their private discourses, censure, judge, and condemn any honest and impartial inquirers into the will of God, *merely* for their differences in opinion, and following the judgment of their own consciences ; or who shall endeavour on this account, to expose them to the *publick hatred* and resentment ; or who shall attempt to excite the civil magistrate to *deprive them* for this reason only, *of their natural rights* and privileges, or by any ways, or methods, to persecute or punish them ; all such persons are evidently destitute of the *true spirit* of christianity ; they *do not understand*, or they *act inconsistently with*, those principles, by which alone, the propagation of christianity, and the reformation, can be justified and defended : They are *disturbers* of the peace of the church of God,

God, and so far acted by that *wisdom which is from beneath, which is earthly, sensual, and devilish.*

NEVERTHELESS, as civil magistracy is the appointment of God, and necessary to preserve the good order, and peace of society; I do, as a *Consistent Protestant*, farther assert, that obedience and submission is due to it *for conscience-sake*, from all persons, whether ecclesiastical or civil, according to the particular forms of government, that obtain amongst the several nations of the christian world; that no character is *so spiritual*, or sacred, as to exempt any persons from the jurisdiction of the civil power, or set them above the regard which is due to the laws of society; that the claim of *independeney in the clergy* is insolence and *sedition*; and that all endeavours to spread jealousies and disaffection amongst the people, against wise and good princes, for their not *gratifying the private views*, and countenancing *the usurpations*, of aspiring and assuming ecclesiasticks, tends to the subversion of civil government, and is a manifest contradiction to all the genuine principles of natural and revealed religion.

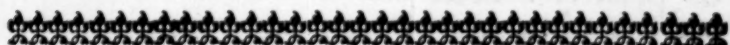
AND altho', as a *Consistent Protestant*, I do *protest against* all the ungodly claims of spiritual men, and all *authoritative* and coercive power in the church; and deny that she hath any right to *add* new articles to the christian faith, or to *impose* her own explications, or consequences on the consciences of others;

tho' I do firmly believe, and *stedfastly maintain*, that the clergy do not, and cannot derive, as the ministers of Christ, any *real validity of orders*, or right of administration in the christian church, from the antichristian church of *Rome*; that they cannot *judicially absolve*, and are not *keepers of the keys* of heaven; that *the efficacy of the word of God*, and the christian sacraments, doth not in the least depend upon any supposed *regularity or defect* in their ordination, but on the good dispositions, and diligent improvement of christians themselves; and that *the terms* of christian communion and salvation, are *so fixed*, and ascertained by the *great apostle of our profession*, Jesus Christ, as that neither the angels of heaven, nor the highest powers on earth, *can alter*, or supersede them, without violating the supreme authority, and invading the sacred prerogatives of the divine law-giver of the christian church, and incurring the anathema of his inspired apostle; in a word, tho' the clergy of no sort or degree, from the pope of *Rome* to the vicar of *Bray*, are to be considered, or submitted to, as *heads of the church*, *spiritual viceregents*, *lords*, *ambassadors*, *divine envoys*, *heavenly residents*, *infallible interpreters*, *successors of the apostles*, or *sovereign directors of the consciences* of men, and ought to be treated with disregard, and contempt, when they assume *such extravagant titles*, and pretend to such unwarranted characters: yet, I heartily acknowledge, that
when

N^o 4. *The OLD WHIG.* 41

when they take the oversight of the christian flock, not by constraint, but willingly; not for filthy lucre, but of a ready mind; when they act, not as lords over God's heritage, but as ensamples to the flock; when they take heed to themselves, and to all the flock, to feed the church of God with sound doctrine; and thus endeavour to save themselves, and those who hear them then, and then only, is respect due to their persons, regard and submission to their instructions, and a liberal and willing maintenance to their diligence and fidelity.

THESE are the principles of a Protestant, always consistent with himself. Upon these the first reformers acted; and these I will propagate and defend, against all persons whatsoever, who shall attempt to oppose and contradict them.



N U M B. V.

Hinc fida silentia sacris instituta sunt ab hominibus callidis, ut nesciat populus quid colat.

LACT.

THE grand basis of the reformation, and support of the protestant cause, is the right of private judgment. If this be

be only a pretended and usurp'd right, the first *protest* against the superstition and imposing spirit of the church of *Rome*, to which we think it our honour to adhere, was insolent and schismatical. But if, on the contrary, it be a sacred prerogative with which God and nature have invested us; if it be essential to us as we are *men*, and our determined privilege and honour as *christians*: Then this *protest* will appear to have been a noble struggle in behalf of oppressed, and almost *expiring*, liberty; a generous attempt to restore true religion, which was most wofully *prostituted* and *debased*, to its primitive dignity and lustre; and a brave opposition to the encroachments of an *arbitrary* power, which had long *controul'd* and *enslav'd* the understandings, consciences, and senses of the christian world, and used them as the *tools* of priestly avarice and ambition. The character of the *first Protestants*, considered in this light, will be that of heroes and eminent benefactors to mankind; and their *successors*, while they maintain the same principles, and are influenced by the same generous views, must of course share in their distinguished honours, be esteemed advocates for virtue, for rational religion, and the good of society, and the guardians of liberty in the most important and valuable branch of it.

Now because the name of *Protestant* will be a name either of *honour*, or *infamy*, as this one Point is adjusted; it must be highly expedient

expedient for me, in the character I bear, to inquire into the foundation of the right we all claim to choose our religion, and explain the doctrines of it *for ourselves*; to judge both of the *evidences* of a revelation, and of the *sense* and *meaning* of it; and that so absolutely and entirely, as that our own reason shall give the *last* and *decisive* judgment, even tho' it be against the opinion of the multitude, the decrees of the church, and the authority of the civil magistrate. And this inquiry is the more necessary, because as I disclaim all *human* jurisdiction over conscience, all *human* authoritative standards of truth and orthodoxy, and all *blind* attachments to names and party-distinctions; I must think myself obliged, in justice, publicly to declare, that 'tis not sufficient, to engage me in the defence of it, that the above-mentioned was the doctrine of the *reformers*, unless it be likewise prov'd that 'tis the voice of *reason*, and confirm'd by the concurring testimony of the *holy scriptures*. I therefore renounce all methods of imposition, violence, and persecution, not *merely* because they are *Popish*, but because they are unnatural, inhuman, and antichristian; and I plead for the right of private judgment, not *merely* as 'tis a *Protestant* claim, but as it is one of those *sacred* and *original* rights of human nature which the gospel has revived and re-established.

MAN is, by his *original constitution*, a moral and accountable being. And from hence it follows, that the rights of conscience are sacred and *equal* in all; that as every one is accountable for *himself*, he should be allowed to reason, judge, and determine for himself; and as his character for virtue or vice, religion or irreligion, depends intirely on *his own* judgment, and on *his own* choice, and not at all on that of others, both his sentiments and conduct, in matters that *purely* relate to conscience, and do not *directly* affect the security and welfare of civil societies, should be *free* and *uncontroul'd*. This is the plain dictate and law of nature. And to suppose that in a point of such vast consequence, in which the rectitude of his mind, and his highest happiness, are immediately concern'd, he has *no choice*; that he is to speak the sense of others, or what they impose upon him *for sense*; and to be guided, moved, and played upon, as if he was a mere *animated machine*, void of intelligence and liberty, and in himself incapable of moral government; to suppose this, I say, is a flat contradiction to his very frame, and the manifest design of his creation. A careful examination and free choice of our religion appears to be the chief end for which we were endued with reason: For if the great creator designed, that the bulk of mankind should submit implicitly to a certain set of established opinions, reason, excepting only in the compilers and conductors

tors of the publick faith, must be in a great measure *impertinent* and *useless*. Nay, it would be a very *absurd* and *unruly* ingredient in our composition; which, unless it were well disciplin'd, and kept under severe command, would be apt to rebel against authority, to question its decisions, and believe nothing but what was intelligible in itself, and had good evidence to support it.

THUS, I think, it appears, that every one who takes *nature* for his guide, will assert and claim the right of *private judgment*. This is indeed an *unalienable* right, which so directly results from our make, and is so inseparably connected with it, that the one cannot be abrogated or invaded, without destroying or offering violence to the other. A man may alienate his labour, his estate, and several branches of his property, and give up his right in them to others; but he can't transfer the *rights of conscience*, unless he could efface his rational and moral faculties, and substitute another to be judged for him at the righteous tribunal of God. Besides, an honest unbiass'd examination of the nature and evidence of religious principles is absolutely essential to a *rational* faith: for there can no more be true faith, or a faith that is *virtuous* and *commendable*, without *evidence*, than there can without ideas. And no religion can be fit for *reasonable* beings, but what springs from approbation, and the free consent of the mind.---The religion of
Bigots

Bigots is a sort of *idolatry*, a *blind devotion* paid to the customs and manners of their country; or else the *taint* of their education; or an *abject despicable slavery*; and consequently, in every view of it, it is a reproach and scandal to human nature. The calling such partiality, enthusiasm, and stiff conceited ignorance, by the name of religion, is the most effectual method that can be taken to render religion itself *contemptible*.

BUT if all christians were duly sensible of the value of that inestimable privilege which I am now pleading for, and have shewn to have an immutable foundation in nature; if they made a proper use of it, and were honest and diligent in the pursuit of truth; if they proceeded in all their religious inquiries with candour and impartiality, and were neither corrupted by irregular passions, nor perverted by prejudice, nor enslaved by education, nor controuled and awed by the restraints and terrors of human authority, whether civil or ecclesiastical---such an *openness* and *ingenuity of mind*, such a *cool, disinterested*, and *free* examination of the grounds of religion, and the principles it contains, must be attended with eminent advantages to themselves, to christianity, to mankind in general. If freedom of thought and rational inquiry universally prevail'd, men could not be so easily practis'd upon by every *insinuating*, *crafty*, or *bold impostor*: But if their understandings are *brib'd* or *terrified*, and either of these

these ways brought to a tame and servile submission to *imposed* and *popular* opinions, to receive implicitly whatever the church has set her *stamp* upon, or has been transmitted down by a *solemn* tradition from their fore-fathers; they must of necessity be exposed to endless delusions, to the most *stupid*, *impious*, and *hurtful* superstition, and may easily be *cajol'd* or *frighten'd* out of their senses, and the common principles of humanity. And therefore those, in every age, who have attempted to enslave the faith and consciences of christians, have begun with humbling the pride of *reason*, and discouraging its *officious* and *impertinent* curiosity in prying into what they call *venerable mysteries* and the *secret counsels* of God; well knowing, that if *this light* could be obscured, there are no doctrines so absurd but what would be greedily swallowed, and no claims so exorbitant but what would be *devoutly* acknowledged, by the undiscerning and credulous multitude.

ANOTHER great use of allowing the people to judge for themselves, both of the proofs of christianity, and the nature of its doctrines, is this, that they will of course be more firmly established in the belief of it; whereas an implicit faith (or the believing what we *don't understand* we *know not why*) must be soon *baffled* and *unbinged*, and naturally tends to *scepticism* and *infidelity*.

AND now, if the right of every man to determine, by *his own reason*, what scheme
of

of religion is most worthy of God, and what is the most acceptable method of worshipping and serving the great creator and father of the universe, be not only attended with signal advantages, but *natural*, and *absolutely unalienable*; it follows, by direct and unavoidable consequence, that no constitutions and rules of civil society can be just, that are inconsistent with this right; nay farther, that no divine revelation can either wholly destroy, or *restrain* and *limit*, the exercise of it. So that if christianity had really abridg'd that freedom of inquiry and calm debate about religious principles, which can't be denied to any man without supposing that he is neither an *intelligent* nor an *accountable* being, this would have been such a strong *intrinsic* mark of imposture, as the plea of miracles could hardly have *counterballanced* in the judgment of the wise and impartial; since it must have argued a *wrong notion* of human nature, or have been a *design'd contradiction* to it. The pretence therefore is *infamous*, be it ever so speciously colour'd: Let it be intended to exalt *faith*, to create a greater reverence of *mysteries*, or even to aggrandize the *church*, it is really a betraying the christian cause, and exposing it to scorn and insult.

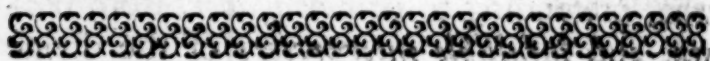
BUT if the direct reverse of this be the truth; if the gospel frankly recommends to men the use and improvement of their *rational faculties*; if it invites to, and encourages, the *strictest* and most *critical* inquiries,
and

and submits its pretensions to the *test* of sober unprejudiced reason; if we find, in the sacred records of our religion, the first christians commended for discovering a *nobleness* and *ingenuity* of temper because they searched the scriptures; and such *apostolical* exhortations as these frequently inculcated, to be *men in understanding*, to *prove all things*, *try the spirits whether they are of God*, and *judge of ourselves what is right*; and if the great God himself has appealed to human reason, which is so much *disgraced* and *vilified*, as to the equity of his proceedings, and the general rules by which he governs the moral world: what must we think of the men, who, pretending to be *ambassadors* from heaven, and *infallible interpreters* of the divine will, would fain persuade christians, in these latter times, to renounce their *understandings* in order to be religious, and to be *blind* and *indolent*, that they may more clearly perceive the pure light of the gospel; who with shameless arrogance and presumption assume powers that *Christ himself* never laid claim to; and raise all the prerogatives, the grandeur, and emoluments of the priesthood, and the honours of christianity itself, on the ruins of reason, and the slavery of conscience!—

We must think of them as the *corrupters* of religion, and the bane of *society*. And from every attempt that may be made to bring us under the hard yoke of *papal* tyranny, and the more *inconsistent* pretences of those who

E usurp

usurp an authority and dominion over our faith without the plea of *infallibility*, we should learn to be more *jealous* of that invaluable branch of our *natural* and *christian* liberty, --- the *liberty* to judge with *our own understandings*, to believe with *our own faith*, and be guided by *our own sense* of scripture; without which, truth will be always oppressed, and christianity disguised and disfigured by superstition---In a word, the *liberty* of worshipping God according to the light and dictates of *our own consciences*; the loss of which, to a generous mind, is more dreadful than *contempt*, *poverty*, or *death*.



N U M B. VI.

Hinc fida silentia sacris instituta sunt ab hominibus callidis, ut nesciat populus quid colat.

LACT.

TRUTH is *uniform* and *invariable*. And yet there are no principles in religion and morality so *certain*, nor any rights of mankind so *sacred* and *unquestionable*, but what the ambition and private interest of some, and the weakness and enthusiasm of others, have led them to oppose. I have shewn, in my last paper, that the right of

of every man to judge for himself in matters of religion results directly from the *original* and *essential* frame of human nature; and that the free, impartial, and constant exercise of it has a tendency to promote virtue, and the honour of christianity: In this I am called upon to answer the objections that are made to it, from its being inconsistent with the present state of human nature, and from the mischievous consequences that attend it, with respect to religion and civil society. And thus we have a pretence of *reason* against *reason*, and of *scripture* against *scripture*; or rather the cunning of *politicians* and the confidence and artful sophistry of *ecclesiasticks*, against the authority both of reason and revelation.

THE main objections against the right of private judgment stand all upon the same basis, and are therefore closely connected together; so that if we destroy the foundation of one of them, we weaken and overthrow the rest: For their whole weight rests upon this, that the bulk of mankind are *incapable* of exercising this right, and consequently can have no *natural* or *just* pretence to it. If we will believe those, who assume the power of ascertaining and fixing the publick faith, 'tis absolutely necessary that the choice of their religion be taken away from the *blind* and *giddy* multitude, and vested in more competent judges; because the *common herd* are thoughtless and indolent, and unwill-
 E 2 reflection;

reflection; and have neither *clearness* and *strength* of understanding sufficient to guide themselves, nor *leisure* for making proper inquiries, nor *opportunities* and *advantages* for forming a distinct and solid judgment. They have indeed the natural faculty of reason, and discover great discernment, and a capacity for arguing and determining wisely, in *common* affairs and the concerns of *civil* life; and one would be apt to imagine, that *these same talents* might qualify them for examining and choosing their religion---but 'tis no such matter---religion is so far beyond the *common discoveries* of reason, it consists of *abstruse* and *sublime* theories raised so high above the comprehension of the *vulgar*, that they are obliged to receive, with an *implicit* and *reverent* submission, such notions about it, and *such only*, as are prescribed and dictated by persons *authorized* to manage their consciences, and take care of their eternal salvation. And if thro' self-conceit and arrogance they *rebel* against this spiritual authority, and trust to their own *low*, *corrupted*, and *carnal* understandings; if they forsake the *publick guidance*, and settle their religious principles by the false and glimmering light, by the uncertain and erroneous standard, of *their private reason*; what other consequences can be expected from it than what has always been, in fact, the result of such *rashness* and *presumption*, the destruction of order and *uniformity*, and an *inconsistent medley* of wild

wild extravagant opinions and sects, scandalous to the name of religion, and of fatal influence on the peace of society?---These are the specious pleas, by which *lordly* imposers, and *tyrannical* invaders of the natural rights of conscience, in every age, and of every *name* and *character*, have endeavoured to soften their imperious claims, and unjust usurpations; this is the ground-work and foundation-stone of *popery*, which alone, amongst all the various schemes of imposition that *ambition* and *craft* have projected, has raised a *natural* and *suitable* superstructure on it, and made the whole plan uniform and consistent: For all pretences to an authority over the faith of christians, by persons who acknowledge themselves to be *fallible*, have something in them, even to common sense, so *ridiculous* and *unnatural*, that unless the people are quite stupid, and absolutely divested of reason, they must meet with universal contempt, and sink under the weight of their own *monstrous absurdity* and *insolence*.

Now in examining and confuting the arguments which have been fairly stated and urged in their full strength, for a publick authoritative decision, and against the use and exercise of *private reason* in matters of faith, the first remark, which will naturally present itself to a considerate and judicious person, is this; that the foundation of all this fair and plausible colouring is *false in fact*, and

must be so, even on the *slavish* principles of popery: For there are several points of vast consequence, which can only be judged of and determined by *every man's private reason*, even though the authority of the *Romish* church be allowed. Thus, for example, it is the office and province of *reason alone*, I mean, of *every man's own reason*, to demonstrate to him the existence of a deity, his absolute perfection and providential government of the world: And to assert, that these important and essential articles of religious faith can only be fixed and decided by *authority*, which authority is entirely derived from the gospel, considered and acknowledged as a divine revelation, is just the same gross and palpable contradiction to common sense, as it would be to affirm, that we must believe in the *scriptures*, and in the *church*, before we can rationally believe in *God*; and yet (as absurdities always follow thick upon one another) that we are bound to believe in *God*, which the very notion of a divine revelation necessarily *presupposes*, before we can believe either in the *scriptures*, or in the *church*. If then reason must be allowed, unless men are resolved to blunder on in this circle of contradictions; if reason, I say, must be allow'd to be capable of discerning, and proving, and of determining by *its own* light and authority, those first essential truths, on which the whole fabrick of religion depends; how *arbitrary* and *capricious* is it to represent it as
blind,

blind, and unfit to decide, with respect to points that are of *inferior* moment! If every man must argue, and investigate for himself, the *religion of nature*; can any thing like solid sense be alleged, why he should not as easily judge of, and interpret the doctrines of *revelation*! Will it be said, that natural religion, being suited and accommodated to the human frame, and intended to be an exercise and improvement of reason, was plain, and adapted to every capacity; but that revealed truths are *super-rational*, and incomprehensible! When the intellectual light in man was become *dim* and *obscure*, and upon that account he stood in need of the most clear and explicit instruction, can it be thought that the grand points, relating to his duty and salvation, would be industriously *clouded*, and wrapp'd up in *riddles*! in *mystery* and *darkness*! or that that is properly stiled a *revelation*, which *insults* and *perplexes*, instead of mercifully enlightening and assisting the human understanding! or that God could reveal any thing but with this view, that it might be *fully* and *universally* understood!

THE church of *Rome*, indeed, who builds her pretensions on the ruins of *reason*, has taken care in this respect not to be *partial*, nor pay a greater compliment to *scripture*; but has represented the oracles of eternal and unerring wisdom as conceived and uttered with as much ambiguity as the old *Delphic* oracles, and as infinitely more *uncertain* and

undeterminable, with respect to their true meaning, than the discourses or writings of any common man, of a moderate degree of judgment. A person of an *ordinary capacity*, so far as he has distinct and clear ideas, finds but little difficulty in expressing his sense, so as not to be mistaken; but, it seems, *the Infinite Mind* is either confused in his *first* apprehensions, and can't find *proper* terms by which to convey his ideas; or else he designed, that his revelations of himself should be *dark* and *inexplicable* by common reason, that the *priest* might have an opportunity to dictate them anew; to illustrate their hidden excellencies, and supply their defects by his *oracular* comments; and, under the awful character of being intrusted with the *secrets* of heaven, to acquire a sovereign independency, and a boundless power to oppress and trample upon the rest of the world. Such notions as these are, in *their own nature*, directly calculated to exalt the grandeur, and enlarge the dominion and revenues of the church; to pamper *lazy* and *luxurious* ecclesiasticks with what should have been the widow's *support*, or the orphan's *patrimony*; and enable them to enslave the consciences of the *devoted* and *stupidified* laity, and prostitute them to the vilest purposes; but at the same time they are a most outrageous insult on the wisdom and goodness of the supreme Being, and render the authority of the scriptures insignificant and contemptible: For a revelation
tion

tion consisting of *unintelligibles* is a contradiction in itself; and therefore can never be proved, to any person of sober thought and reflection, to be of divine original.

BUT perhaps such arguments, however solid, and adapted to impress *pious* and *ingenuous* minds, will be despised as trifling and inconsiderable by those who have tasted the *sweets* of power, and felt the advantages of leading the people *blindfold*; 'tis highly probable, that they will be thought to have but little weight, when put in the scale against *ambition* and *interest*; and that arguments drawn from their own principles may have much more influence. I would therefore observe, that the *perspicuity* of the scriptures, and their *sufficiency* as a rule of faith in a capital and fundamental point, must be allowed on the scheme of *popery* itself: For how is it that the most *stiff* and *inflexible* bigot to that superstition would attempt to prove the *authority* and *infallibility* of the church? Why, by appealing to the testimony and evidence of scripture; and whether this testimony is *direct*, and this evidence *clear* and *full* enough, every man must determine by *his own* reason. So that on *popish* principles, private christians have a right to judge for themselves, and they have *no* right; the scriptures are *plain*, and *unintelligible*; in most cases they are *no revelation* at all, and the revelation *then only* began to be made, when the church thought fit to publish her decrees

decrees and authoritative explications of the doctrines of christianity, which in the writings of the new testament were *mysterious* and *impenetrable*: And yet, to compleat the *farce*, these very same *incomprehensible scriptures*, interpreted by *private light*, are sufficient to decide in another point, which, as they have stated it, is abundantly more *intricate*, and requires not only more penetration, but greater learning and knowledge of antiquity, to resolve it thoroughly, than is necessary to the right understanding any *genuine* branch of revealed religion.

HOWEVER, let us be *liberal*, for once, in our concessions, and allow the *Romanist* all that he insists upon; let reason be *debased* and *carnal*, and the rule of scripture *dubious* and *uncertain*; let us admit, that there is need of an *infallible judge of controversies*; that such a one is actually appointed; and tho' her doctrines are the grossest corruptions of christianity, and the most bare-fac'd defiance of reason, let us yield it, that the claim of infallibility, and right of authoritative decision, justly belong to the *Romish church*: If all this be granted, what will be the consequence! what eminent advantages will redound from it to the christian world! Will it render us more secure from error than the *free, disinterested, and impartial* exercise of private judgment? This may be fairly disputed—For 'tis not sufficient that the persons, on whom I am absolutely to rely for the direction

rection of my faith and conscience, *know* the truth, unless I can be satisfied on good grounds, that they will not *suppress, disguise, or corrupt* it; and it could yield but small comfort to be convinced that they were not *erroneous*, if I had not some assurance that they were *honest*. Suppose the infallibility to be lodged in a *general council*, there is no one, surely, who knows any thing of the history of these solemn ecclesiastical conventions, that would imagine he had a tolerable chance to receive *pure unadulterated* christianity from an assembly of men of opposite views and interests; of turbulent unruly tempers; of restless ambition, insatiable avarice, and implacable resentment; the slaves, and flatterers, and tools of princes. Or if this great prerogative be vested in the *Pope*, it must have been a sort of *miracle*, if under the management of such *execrable* monsters of *unnatural* lust and cruelty, and boundless thirst of power, as have sometimes filled the *papal* chair, religion was not entirely perverted, made a mere *political engine*, and the whole of it resolved into that one principle, that *gain is godliness*. 'Tis making a mere jest of the *pontifical* authority, and trifling with common sense, to suppose, that the *self-same* person is so different from *himself*, that he may be more safely trusted when he is *in* the chair, than when he is *out* of it: For he, who in his whole conduct appears to be a thorough abandon'd villain, when *out* of this
pretended

pretended seat of infallibility, can give no satisfaction to any one, that is not fond of being imposed upon, that he will not act the same part *in* it. We are in greater danger of being misled by *wise* men, who have no principles of virtue and generosity, nor any scruples about sacrificing truth to interest, than we are by inquisitive persons of much *inferior abilities*, who supply what they want in acuteness of genius by that which is infinitely more valuable, candour and integrity of heart. Should we therefore allow the claim of *infallibility*, unless we were also sure of the *honest intention* of our spiritual guides, we must be liable to the most dangerous and fatal impositions, and could be certain of no one principle in religion. By being *passive*, and submitting tamely to authority, we must of necessity be subject to endless artifice and collusion; but if we carefully attend to, and impartially follow the dictates of our reason, we may be assured, that in any cases of considerable importance, it neither *will* nor *can* deceive us.

THUS have I destroyed the grand *bulwark* of *papal* tyranny, by which it has, for some ages, maintained its exorbitant power and grandeur. If any *Protestants* should presume to set up *authority* against *the right of private judgment*, they would depart entirely from their first principles, and must either renounce christianity, or embrace popery. If they choose the latter, they must give up
likewise

N^o 7. *The OLD WHIG.* 61

likewise their understandings and senses, and all the *principles* and *mediums* of knowledge; and ought to turn downright scepticks, and doubt of every thing.

N U M B. VII.

To the Author of the OLD WHIG.

If there was the least reason to fear, or apprehend,—That any attack would be made upon liberty, in any one branch of it,—such discourses as are published by the writer of the Old Whig, would be very seasonable, and even necessary.

Daily Courant, April 17. 1735.

S I R,

I AM extremely glad to find, that your discourses are like to have the approbation, and perhaps the assistance, of the ingenious and polite author above-quoted, as soon as it is made appear, that there is *the least reason to fear any attack upon liberty, in any one branch of it.*

If this gentleman should ever be convinc'd, that there are *a set of men* among us, daily contending for and acquiring power and wealth, who have ever been the *destroyers of liberty*, in proportion to the *influence* with which they have been entrusted; he will, I hope,

hope, think there is some small *reason to fear*, that at least some attack on liberty may be made.

AND farther, should he be informed, that any man, or set of men, (puffed up with the confidence of any such power) should have imperiously interfered in the disposal of royal favours; should have attempted to monopolize a high branch of the prerogative of the crown, and one which is peculiarly a part of our liberty; and should on their disappointment have forgot the respect due to the worth of persons, or the dignity of the highest office, and not even refrained their insolence from Majesty itself: in such a case, I say, the gentleman sure would apprehend the attack already begun.

OR, again, should the gentleman hear that a weekly paper is set up and dispersed by the industry of such zealots, to vilify the best men, only because they are lovers of liberty; to inculcate slavish doctrines; to confound liberty with libertinism; he could not avoid, in such a case, thinking the attack already fairly advanced: And tho' the impotence and abandoned characters of the writers may secure them from a particular answer, yet general discourses on the principles of liberty, will surely then, according to the observation of the gentleman himself, become very *seasonable*, and even *necessary*. Or, lastly, should this writer ever happen to find out, that
there

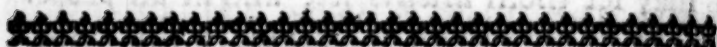
there are *certain laws* * actually in force, (and sometimes carried into execution) which are repugnant to the *liberty* of mankind; and that even in the highest and most valuable branches of it; namely, those of *choosing and exercising our own religion*, and of *educating our own children*; he will then surely join with us, in all legal attempts, to hand down to posterity such *clear-sentiments* of liberty, as may let them *always see*, and at all proper seasons *engage them to demand a full enjoyment* of, their natural rights; and will be with us of *opinion*, that *those times* must be the most proper to make such demands, when the prince upon the throne is, in a peculiar manner, distinguished for his noble openness of mind, his honesty and sincerity; and when the persons intrusted by him in the administration of publick affairs, are men, who, not only from their youth have been educated in the principles of liberty, but who have asserted those principles in the worst of times. And, indeed, no other times can be so peculiarly proper for such purposes: For, should it ever happen, that those persons who must have received continual and powerful assistance, not to say support from the friends of liberty, should think those friends obliged to them, for graciously leaving them under no greater oppression than that in which they found them; and should expect them to add to their other services a thankful acquiescence under

* See Dr. GIBSON's *Codex*.

under such *oppression*; I should think them in the mistake of the honest *Hibernian*, who, desiring his friend to lend him half-a-crown, was answered, He had but eighteen-pence: Arrah, dear Joy, then you shall lend me that, and *owe* me the shilling.

Yours,

HUGO DE BURGO.



N U M B. VIII.

Natura nulla est, quæ non habeat in suo genere res complures dissimiles inter se, quæ tamen consimili laude dignentur.

CICER. de orat. lib. 3.

ALL nature is full of *variety*. Plants and flowers are adorned with different beauties, and adapted to distinct uses: Animals are endued with different instincts and degrees of sagacity: There is a *scale of reason* in the intellectual and moral world, and an *indeterminable*, and almost infinite, variety, with respect to their understandings, tempers, and advantages for improvement in knowledge and virtue amongst mankind, tho' they are all reduced to *one class* of beings. This *agreeable diversity* in the constitution of the universe, gives us a more enlarged
idea

idea of the wisdom and power of the great contriver and author of it, than any single *uniform* production could raise in us, however noble and magnificent. In like manner, the difference of men's circumstances, dispositions, and capacities, is urg'd as an uncontested proof of the creator's skill, equally with that of their *features, shape, and complexion*; but the *natural effect* of these, a disagreement of sentiments and opinions with respect to religion, is represented in a frightful dress, as necessarily tending to publick mischief and disorder. Can any thing be more unaccountably capricious and absurd? — If it was proposed, that all mankind should wear a *mask* of the same colour and form, in order to disguise the *natural disparity* that there is in the lineaments, make, and air of their faces, such a scheme for an *artificial uniformity* of aspect would be universally derided and ridicul'd; an attempt to *depress* and *contract* the understandings of some, to *extend* and *stretch* the capacities of others, to *distort* and *torture* all, till they are brought to *one size*, is equally romantic and whimsical.

ALL the solemn exclamations that are made against a variety of religious opinions, as if it was extravagant and monstrous, are really a *burlesque* on *nature*, on the model of the world so admirably contrived and executed by the unerring wisdom of the eternal mind. Such complaints must be the effect of

F

super-

superficial observation, and, if nature be *rightly disposed*, of gross ignorance and presumption; since it is next to impossible, as long as the understandings of men, and their opportunities and advantages for forming a right judgment of things, *differ*, that their apprehensions of any subject, in all the parts of it, should be exactly the *same*. If all mankind publickly adher'd to one form, and maintained the same speculative principles, they must appear to every other being, that was acquainted with their original frame, as acting in MASQUERADE; the religion of the multitude would be look'd upon as the effect of *indolence* and *inattention*; and the religion of others as nothing but a *juggle*, the result of *fawning complaisance*, or *slavish terror*.

AND as the difference of sentiment in religious controversies, which the exercise of private judgment is said to introduce, is *natural* and unavoidable, and exhibits just such a scene as one would expect to see, if all were of honest ingenuous minds, and impartial inquirers after truth; the inconveniences, if there are any such that unavoidably attend it, must be charged on the God of nature, who we may as rationally suppose, intended, that there should be a *multiplicity* of *opinions*, when he formed the understandings of men so different with respect to clearness, strength, and compass, as we may judge, from the different structure of
of

of the organs of sight, that he design'd *external objects* should be *variously* represented. But it will be found, upon reflection, that the thing *in itself* has no ill consequences.

—Is it then none, or a trifling inconvenience, that opposite sects in *religion* of inconsistent interests, aiming at the superiority, and endeavouring to disgrace and oppress each other, form contrary parties and factions in the *state*, which distress and weaken the civil administration? Without doubt this, whenever it happens, is very detrimental to the peace and good order of society; but 'tis no more a *natural consequence* of men's thinking differently of religion, than of different judgments about *poetry*, *wit*, or *painting*.—But religion is of vastly greater importance than any mere *natural* accomplishments, or the most polite refinements of *art* and *ingenuity*; and therefore demands a more warm and active zeal.—Allowing this, nothing more follows from it, than that we should endeavour to support its honour in a way suited to its excellency, to recommend it by *calm* and strong persuasion, and instruct each other in its grand principles; but it must be a most *unnatural excess of zeal*, for the defence of *piety* to renounce *humanity*, and that equitable regard, and kind affection, which are unalterably due from one man to another. The sacrificing moral virtue for the sake of religion is making religion an *idol*, the object of a *blind* and *superstitious* zeal. If it be

said, that these evils and disorders, however repugnant to the true genius of religion, are the *actual* consequence of a variety of sects, enthusiastically fond of their particular schemes, and animated by a strong spirit of opposition: 'tis sufficient to answer, That as they are only *accidental* abuses, to which the best things are liable, the same argument may be urg'd against reason, and every branch of *natural* and *civil* liberty. A man of a hasty and choleric temper, may, with a *fairer* shew of justice, be depriv'd of the benefit of taking the air, and shut up from all conversation, because such persons, in the unguided transports of their passion, are apt to commit a great many extravagances; than the liberty of thinking for ourselves can be restrained on the account of inconveniences that don't spring *directly* from it, but arise *entirely* from different causes; from pride, and peevishness, and impatience of contradiction, and a sour inflexible bigotry, that either does not understand, or pays no regard to, the *unalienable rights* of conscience. Or if the same reasoning be applied to *politics*, it will hold much stronger than in the case of religion: for it may be pretended, that cabals and factions in the state *directly* affect the security and peace of society, religious parties only *remotely*; and that therefore if there be any need of *formularies*, and *authoritative articles* of faith, for our union as christians, there must be much more need of

of

of some public standard of *political orthodoxy*, to which all shall implicitly submit. And when this scheme is once established, the *insolence of liberty* will be sufficiently controul'd, with respect both to religion and government; and mankind become as tame slaves to arbitrary power, as the most absolute tyrants, whether *ecclesiastical* or *civil*, can desire.

BUT if various schemes of religion were *naturally* productive of some confusion and disorder, how is it possible to rectify it, without altering the present state of the world? If we give up the right of private judgment, what can we think of substituting in the room of it, to bring mankind to a *unity* of faith and practice? The claims of *Popery* are groundless and arrogant, a contradiction to reason, scripture, and experience. And can *Protestants*, who disclaim infallibility, propose any *plausible* centre of union, any *public decision* of controversies, to which we may safely and honourably submit, as men, and christians? It must surely be next to impossible to fix on a rule, amidst the inconsistent pretences of persons equally fallible, or to come to any other *wise* conclusion than this, To reject them all. If we set up the opinion of the *majority* as the standard of truth, we make the rude, uninstructed, unthinking multitude, who are represented as incapable of any cool and impartial exercises of reason, not only judges for themselves,

but for others of much *superior* abilities, And if we suppose the *civil magistrate*, in every country, to be the person *authorized* to settle the religion of it; or place this right in those who call themselves the *church*, in *conjunction* with the civil power, or in *opposition* to it; then truth and falsehood will be the same: *Protestantism* and *Popery*, the doctrine of *Christ* and *Mahomet*, the idolatry of *Paganism*, and every *new superstition*, however wild and monstrous, that may hereafter be established, will all belong to the *true religion*, which mankind are bound to acknowledge. If it be said, that neither the church nor the civil magistrate are recommended as a *decisive authority*, to which an absolute submission is due; but only as more likely to judge right than the bulk of the people, who are ignorant and unattentive, and blinded by their passions and prejudices; this is taking away the *foundation*, and yet endeavouring to support the *superstructure*; for an authority that is not *decisive*, is *no authority* at all. And if every man must either approve or reject the public doctrines, and forms of worship, as they are allowed, or condemned, by *his own* reason, and agree, or disagree, with *his own* sense of scripture; this is granting the largest extent and scope to the exercise of private judgment that was ever contended for; but, at the same time, it supposes a *public leading* in religion to be of no more authority with respect to *conscience*, nor of greater

use, than the instructions and reasonings of wise and inquisitive men in *private* stations; who may have this advantage to plead, that they have no *particular* inducements to suit religion to the genius of *courts*, and the ambition of *princes*, or use it as an engine for erecting a *spiritual* tyranny, to satiate priestly avarice and lust of power.

IF there are any just reasons for a *universal* agreement in every point of religion, they must be drawn either from principles that are common to *all mankind*, or peculiar to us as we are *christians*. Now there can be no argument of this kind arising from the constitution and frame of human nature, because it has been plainly prov'd, that it will scarcely admit of such a *uniformity*: Nor from the particular scheme of christianity, because it has neither appointed an *authoritative* judgment and determination of controversies; nor promis'd to *every individual* the necessary means to preserve him from all error; nor made any alteration with respect to that *natural* variety of men's understandings, tempers, and opportunities for improvement, from which *different* opinions will necessarily arise. But will it not be of some advantage, if all the members of a society can be brought to agree *among themselves* in *one* notion of religion?—How far this may favour the views of a *Machiavelian* policy, I know not; but it can, I think, be of no service to the cause of virtue, and a ra-

tional piety : For when we speak of the religion of *men*, we understand what we mean, *viz.* the unchangeable religion of *reason* and *nature* ; when we speak of the religion of *christians*, we have an idea of a doctrine that *reviv'd* natural truths, which, in the darkness and corruption of the world, were almost lost, and has inforc'd natural duties on the noblest principles ; of a doctrine, useful and amiable, suited to our own wants and circumstances :——But what sense can be made of *the religion of a country* !——Or indeed of what use is it, that a *unity* of opinion should be prescribed and insisted on in those points, in which both nature and the gospel have left room for *variety* ! *National* religions have inspired mankind with a mad zeal, that has occasioned inveterate and *hereditary* hatred of each other ; and being heightened by a concern for the *honour* of their respective countries, has been the source of destructive wars, and of most dreadful scenes of *desolation* and *misery*. *National* religions create that very *variety* in speculative principles, and modes of worship, which the advocates for them are so forward to complain of. They are the true cause, why the *major part* of whole communities disagree in their sentiments, and oftentimes in matters of considerable importance ; about which, if there be any *clearness* and *certainty* in the rule of truth, it must be likely they would form the same judgment, if they were diligent
and

and impartial in their inquiries. And the history of all ages informs us, that the differences amongst mankind have generally related, either to unnecessary *ceremonies*, or abstruse perplexing *theories*, impos'd by *human* authority. There is no need of proving that *summaries* of faith, composed by fallible men, are no sure guard against a *diversity* of religious opinions; because there is great reason to expect, that this will be readily *allowed*, and strenuously *supported*, by the reverend clergy of our own excellent church, who subscribe her articles in as widely *distant* and *contradictory* senses, as were ever put on the most *dubious* and *intricate* passage in the whole New Testament.

UPON considering all these things impartially, I declare my opinion as a *Consistent Protestant*, and a hearty friend to the *liberties* of mankind, that the common people are either absolutely *incapable* of religion, or must choose and understand it for *themselves*; and that the beauty and true order of the *moral* and *christian* world, like that of the *natural*, consists in UNIFORMITY, with VARIETY: A *uniformity* in all essential principles, which exercises of private reason and free inquiry are most likely to produce; and a variety in doubtful speculations, and points of lesser moment, which the original frame of human nature, and the circumstances of the world, seem to render unavoidable.



N U M B. IX.

To the OLD WHIG.

S I R,

THERE is nothing more common than to have a clear and distinct notion of particular things, when considered separately; and yet, when one happens to join them together, and to make them of a complex nature, darkness and obscurity instantly arise in the mind; and we can hardly determine the precise meaning of that of which we once had clear ideas. It seems to be like the mixture of certain liquors, which in themselves are very translucent and clear; but as soon as they come to be mixed together, they instantly grow opaque, and dark.

THE notion of *liberty* seems to be of this kind: It is clear enough of itself; and so is that of *government*: but yet when we come to consider these two ideas together, and to think of them as connected; it is not easy to define what *liberty* is, or to say exactly to what it extends. *Liberty* consists in a power to act, or not to act, as every man pleases; It is a state of independency

on

in the will and pleasure of any other. But when *government* supposes, that a man is debar'd of the power of acting as he pleases; nay, it supposes that his actions are, and must be, directed by certain prescribed rules, laid down by superiors, to whom legislative power is given. The very entrance therefore into society, or government, is an abridgment of liberty; nor can men be admitted into the one, without being deprived of very much of the other.

THE way then to consider what branches of natural liberty are given up, and what remain to us, after our admission into society, is, to consider the *ends* for which men enter into a state of government: For so much liberty only is departed from as is necessary to secure and maintain those ends; the rest is to be deemed our own still. In a state of nature, I had a right to read *Homer*, or *Virgil*, or *Horace*, in order to instruct or amuse myself; and therefore under a government, instituted to support and maintain my life and property, and civil interests, I retain my liberty to read them still. If my inclination, or my diversion puts me upon studying *Euclid*, or *Apollonius*, or any mathematical, or philosophical work; a society in which I engage in order to secure my property, has no right to interpose, and to require me to renounce demonstration and science. And for the same reason, should I turn my thoughts to any book of morals, or
search

search after the great cause of all things, and proceed as far as reason, unassisted or assisted, can search,——a society, erected for the purposes of preserving my civil interests, would acquire no authority to intermeddle, or to command me to abstain from reading any book necessary to those purposes. For from what source, from what fountain can such a society derive a right to hinder my studies, recreations, or amusements, which do not affect the *ends* of the society? To restrain therefore the free use of the *scriptures*; to prohibit men the reading of them; to make it penal to examine and search them; is a manifest usurpation upon the common rights of mankind, and is as much a violation of natural liberty, as the attack of a highwayman upon the road can be upon our civil rights.

WE retain then a liberty in such cases in which we have not expressly parted with it, *i. e.* in all such cases as have no relation to the *ends* of such society as we enter into. And *much more* do we retain, because we cannot but retain, our liberty in all rights that are impossible to be alienated. Wherever there are duties incumbent upon ourselves, which cannot be performed by others for us, or by ourselves for others, there we cannot transfer such duties to any others whatever. If the parent cannot perform them for his children, or the husband for his wife; or any one be made the substitute or delegate
of

of another ;—these must be so eminently *personal* duties, that no one can alienate them, or transfer their concern in them to another. No society therefore can acquire a right over us in these instances ; or make that a *social* virtue, which is in itself strictly and necessarily *personal*.

WE all, as reasonable creatures, stand in a certain relation to GOD, who is all-wise, omnipresent, the searcher of hearts ; and to be worshipped only in spirit and in truth. No disguise, no hypocrisy, is of any availance with him ; nor are outward forms the means of pleasing him. The duties therefore paid to him, must arise from the inward dispositions of the heart ; and are lodged where force or compulsion cannot reach ; and in consequence are acts which no power on earth can create, or alter, or perform for us : nor can we make ourselves at all acceptable to him, but by a *real, true, and sincere* performance of our own duty. We cannot therefore transfer to others *these* duties, nor give to any a power over them ; we *must* therefore retain them to ourselves ; and the right of following our own consciences is to be considered and treated as an unalienable right, inherent in us as a branch of that natural liberty which we can never be deprived of in any regular society.

THERE is another branch of liberty yet behind, which I know not whether I should consider as a *natural* right retained : it rather

seem

seems to be *acquired* by entring into society. I mean That which every member of society has, to speak his sentiments openly concerning such matters as affect the good of the whole. When any man makes himself a member of a community, he becomes concern'd for the whole, as well as for his particular part: He ventures his life and fortunes upon the same bottom; and is perpetually interested in its good or ill success. Wherever therefore he perceives a rock upon which there is a probability that the vessel may split; or if he sees a shoal, or sand that may swallow it up; or if he foresees a storm that is likely to arise; his interest is too deeply concerned not to give notice of the danger: and the right he has to his life and property, gives him a right to *speak* his sentiments. If the pilot of the ship refuses to hear, or if the captain will take no notice; yet 'tis certain they acquire no right to *punish* the well-meant information, nor to stop the mouth of him who thinks that he descries danger to the whole ship's crew. In this case, government does not deprive a man of *liberty*, but encourages it; and he would cease to be a good member of society, who should resolve to be silent on all occasions, and neither heed, nor speak, nor guard against the follies, or ignorance, or mistakes of those at the helm.

CONSIDER now, Sir, wherein liberty under government consists. 'Tis plain, that
all

all unalienable rights must be left us untouched, as being things not cognizable by any men on earth. As to such rights as may be acquired by our own pains and industry; or which our parents, relations, friends or benefactors may leave us; these may be given up to the society we live in, in part, or in whole, as the necessity of affairs, or the ends of government may require. No doubt, one great reason of entrance into civil societies is, that men may secure to themselves their properties; and as they could acquire these, so they can part with them again. But what they cannot acquire, they cannot give up; and therefore no power of society constituted by man can possibly extend itself to such cases. In every thing which does not affect the ends for which men enter into society, *liberty* continues exactly the same, as if men had never united into communities, or never had departed from that state of equality and freedom which they enjoyed in a state of nature. As men therefore might originally wear what coloured clothes they pleased; or dig, or plow their fields, or water their gardens, or plant their hedges, or make their fences, or eat their dinners, at their own time, in their own manner, and after their own good pleasures; they retain all this, and such like liberty still, notwithstanding their uniting into communities, because these do not interfere with the good of the publick; and nothing but
the

the end of society is to be the rule of abridging any natural rights. As the essence of liberty consists in being master of one's self, not subject to the arbitrary will, controul, or dominion of another; so in society, a man is *free*, if he is not subject to the arbitrary will and command of any superior; and a state is *free*, if it be under no other restraints than what it imposes upon its own self. Yet should a free state at any time impose unreasonable or improper restraints, every man has a right publicly to remonstrate against such encroachments, and to oppose the progress of such iniquity. I am,

S I R,

Yours, &c. E. D.

To the Author of the OLD WHIG.

—*Dominum vebet improbus, atque
Serviet æternum.*— HOR.

S I R,

IF a knight-errant will take a wind-mill to be a giant, I know no help for it. I could wish indeed, for his sake, he had some expedient to stop the mill before he begun the attack. My ingenious friend, the *Couranteer*, will have it, that you, and I, and the

the letter-writer, and, in short, every body and every thing which he happens not to comprehend, are antiministerial. He says and unsays, misquotes passages, misrepresents persons, shuffling, digressing and blundering through the long paper of the 30th past; and the amount of the whole is no more than *Scrub's* conclusion in the play, *There must be a plot in it, for I dont know what to make of it.*

I must own, Sir, such a writer is by me unanswerable; and why should I attempt an unnecessary work, since such writers are usually so good as to answer themselves.

BUT to save him any farther trouble about my orthodoxy in politicks, I will give him two good political maxims; *Never to meddle with quiet things*; and to conclude, *That those who are not against us, are for us.*

I will also prevent his farther guessing who are the sett of men meant in my last; and and hope for the future, he will be more cautious of abusing the reverend bench by such strange applications. The sett of men, Sir, whom I ventured to represent as grasping at power, and dangerous to the liberty of mankind, are those who have, or do, or shall attempt the setting up a power ecclesiastical, independent of the civil government; and that such men there are, and have been, I can convince all mankind, the *Couranteer* only excepted; and I mean no particular men, nor order of men; neither *L---d*, nor *Sa-----*, nor *C---d---x*, nor monks, nor

G

popes,

popes, nor bishops. And such power formerly had these sett of men in this kingdom, that I can produce records, by which it will appear, that the killing a hare in the grounds of an ecclesiastick, was a sufficient cause of excommunication; that the loss of the bishop of *Lincoln's* hawk, was a sufficient reason to put the men of *Lindsey*, a considerable Part of that country, under an interdict, unless they found it again in a certain number of days. In those times of popery, Sir, it was laid down to be the duty of a layman, if he happen'd to be on horseback, and met a clergyman on foot, to alight and give the divine his horse. I am told, Sir, that in our times this matter is much moderated, and that it is only the third question now in a *catechism* used for the instruction of our Youth at a very charitable foundation: *Quest. What are you to do when you meet a Clergyman?* *Ans. Do him the best reverence I can.* This, Sir, was the use they made of power, with regard to private life. As to their publick views, I will present you with a picture my *Ld Coke*, that great oracle of the law, gives of them: (which author I chuse rather to use, because I find him quoted by the great author of the *parallel*.) In his introduction to his commentary on the statute *Articuli Cleri*, edit. 9. Ed. II. he lays open the scene of ecclesiastical encroachments, as follows: " Long before the making of this statute, that is to say, 42 H. III. *Boniface* archbishop of
" *Can-*

“ *Canterbury*, &c. made and published cer-
 “ tain canons, &c. the effect of them is to
 “ encroach on many matters which appa-
 “ rently belong’d to the common law; as,
 “ amongst others, the trials of limits and
 “ bounds of parishes, and right of patronage;
 “ against trials of right of tythes by *indica-*
 “ *vit*; against writs to the bishop upon a *qua-*
 “ *re impedit*, &c. in the king’s courts, that
 “ none of the possessions or liberties of any
 “ of the clergy, had in right of their church,
 “ should be tried before any secular judge;
 “ (so as they would not have cognizance of
 “ things spiritual, but of temporal also;) and
 “ concerning distresses and attachments with-
 “ in their fees; and in effect, that no *quo*
 “ *warranto* should be brought against them,
 “ when they had long been in possession :
 “ with an invective against the perverse inter-
 “ pretation (so they term’d it) of the judges of
 “ of the realm, of charters, &c. granted to
 “ them, and in substance against the ancient
 “ writs of prohibition, in cases where, by
 “ the laws of the land, they are main-
 “ tainable; and commandment given to ad-
 “ monish the king, and to interdict his lands
 “ and revenues; and thunder’d out excom-
 “ munications against the judges and others,
 “ if they violated, or obey’d not the said ca-
 “ nons.” See here the spirit of the hierarchy
 in those days ! And my Lord *Coke* has also
 given a picture of it since the reformation in
 the *Artic. Cleri*, 3 *Jac.* which I intend the

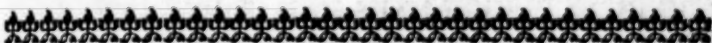
rather to send you, that you may also observe how truly my Lord *Coke* is represented as a favourer of arbitrary power by the author of the *Parallel*; and how desirous the judges of the courts of King's-bench and Common-pleas were, of being eased of the trouble of granting prohibitions; which the author of that admirable pamphlet, intitled, *The powers claimed by the hierarchy*, was not sufficiently apprised of. My Lord *Coke* tells us, however, that *Boniface* miscarried in his attempt; and that the king and the judges defended, at that time, our constitution with much difficulty, but greatly for their honour and the nation's benefit. Had they yielded to such encroachments, for fear of the power of the church, how infamous the concession, how fatal the effects? I should have been at a loss for a description of a state, so abject, so undone; but our facetious neighbours the *Dutch*, who judge right well in these matters, would have represented such a state, after the manner of our ancient custom, called the *Skimmington*: The church and state both riding on one jade; the church before, triumphant; the state with the face to the tail, arm'd with a distaff. In such a procession they would have introduced all the images, and banners, and habits, and other trumpery of romish priestcraft, more properly perhaps than ever they yet were; and methinks, I should find out the *pamphleteers* and *couranteers* of that age, who should have defended such measures in
their

their several capacities, attending the procession, perhaps astride on the paniers of grains, distributing their favours promiscuously to friends and foes; a proper hint, that as in domestic, so in ecclesiastic quarrels, whoever meddles is in danger of being bedawb'd, let him take which side he will.

I am, *S I R,*

Your's,

HUGO DE BURGO.



N U M B. X.

To the OLD WHIG.

S I R,

WHEN in my last to you I pleaded for the right of every private member of society to speak his mind concerning the transactions of it, you will not imagine that I conceive liberty to consist in a power to abuse superiors, or to censure their conduct at all adventures, without regard to truth or falshood; or in a power to do any thing, or every thing, with impunity. Every man continues subject to the law of nature, notwithstanding his admission into civil government, and he is obliged to direct his conduct by

G 3

that;

that: Entrance into society does not make any alteration in that respect, nor does it set a man free from the unchangeable ties of nature. Truth therefore and justice, and every virtue is in its full force; and with liberty, men are to be subject always to right reason.

A *private man* is *free* (as I said in my former) when he is subject to no dominion but his own, or when he is not obliged to obey the commands of another: A *society* is *free*, when no laws are imposed upon it from any but itself, *i. e.* when it makes its own laws, and subjects itself to its own rules. But, what if it makes laws contrary to reason, or contrary to the ends of government? What, if it confines the people where they ought to be unconfin'd; or takes away such rights as it ought not to meddle with? In a society constituted like ours, that has a power to alter or reverse laws for itself, it is not to be imagined, but its members will soon attempt to *repeal* such laws. However, in this case, a nation is to itself, what any private freeman is to himself; subject to nothing but what he lays upon himself. If he will resolutely impose upon himself unreasonable restraints, or lay himself under the bonds of improper rules of action, he is indeed as much at liberty as he chooses to be; but then he is unwise, imprudent, and subject to all such miseries and inconveniences as folly and absurdity run men into.

BUT

BUT supposing unwise, unreasonable, improper laws to be made by such persons as are intrusted with the legislative power; as the society consists in numbers, whereof every particular is concerned for himself, and for the whole, may not *any* member, who sees the evil consequence of any law, *complain*? May he not endeavour to *shew* the ill tendency of such laws? May he not attempt to *convince others* of such consequences as he sees himself; and try to make them of the same sentiments with himself? No doubt, he may: Nay, his *duty* to the community to which he stands related, *obliges* him to endeavour to guard against, or to remove, all unreasonable attempts upon it: nor can he be deemed so *good* a member of it, who sees and conceals the mischievous effects of unrighteous and unreasonable impositions, as he really is who discloses them, and makes them known.

THE entering of ourselves into a community, supposes that we intend to be true to the interests of that community; that we will defend it to the uttermost of our powers against open attempts, and secret conspiracies; and that, if any wicked and mischievous designs against it should be heard or known by us, we would instantly discover them, and endeavour to prevent their execution. Now a law that is *unreasonable*, however made; whether it proceeded from ignorance and inadvertency, or from art and design; whatever was its source, it is an attempt upon the liberty of

the society, it is contrary to the *ends* of it, and contrary to the *good* of it; and therefore he must be a good and useful member of it, that by any ways he can, discloses its ill tendency, and endeavours to get it removed,

THERE is no one point wherein every body is more concerned, than in *religion*: It is something purely *personal*; it relates to men's souls, and the salvation of them; nor is it in any man's power to abandon the care of his soul, and to leave it to others to prescribe to him what *faith* he shall have, and *how much* he shall believe, and what he shall *do*, in order to make him acceptable to God. Were a law therefore made in any community, requiring its members not to judge for themselves, or imposing certain doctrines unintelligible, or false; such law would be *unreasonable*, an attempt upon the liberty of the society; and every particular member that felt such a grievance, would do but his duty in remonstrating against it, and endeavouring to get the burden removed,

IN *Italy*, where the *Pope* rules with an uncontrollable power, it is determined, that all
 " conviction of private judgment ought to be
 " submitted to the determinations of the
 " church: " That " the clergy, or a council, or the pope, is the *dernier resort* of
 " ecclesiastical authority." In consequence of this notion, whole countries are deserted: When you come within a day's journey of *Rome* itself, (where one would think that the
 neigh.

neighbourhood of so famed a place should fill the country with gardens, and houses, and inhabitants, as *London* does the neighbouring counties all around it,) things are the reverse of what they are *here*, or what an *Englishman* expects. The fertile soil of *Latium*, which formerly maintained so many hundred thousands of people, is “ now abandoned to such a degree, that for a hundred miles together, from *Civita Vecchia* to *Terracina*, in one of the richest and finest champain countries conceivable, and as far as one’s eye can carry one, there is often not so much as a house to be seen : So that by this dispeopling of the country, the air is now become so unwholesome, that it is not safe to be a night in it all the summer long ; for the water that lies upon many places not being drained, it rots ; and in the summer this produces so many noisome steams, that it is felt even in *Rome* itself.”

PUT the case that an *old Roman* were to arise from the dead, or that an *Italian* of good sense were to be convinced, that all this evil was owing to the tyranny and injustice of popery ; and suppose that either of them were to publish to the world, by means of the press, or by any other method he should think proper, a defence of *liberty* ; and were to shew that all those evils, and a great many more, were owing to the want of liberty in that country ; that his Holiness ought not as-
sume

sume to himself that power which he claimed; that the reason of government could not require such an authority; that no man when he entered into society, could give up the power of judging for himself; that if his Holiness expected a blind submission, he must expect to retain by force, what he had usurped by fraud and force united; that nothing but desolation could be the result of tyranny and persecution; that, in former times, when liberty abounded, this fruitful soil was well cultivated, and peopled fully: — Were an *old Roman* or a sensible *Italian*, to reason in this manner, and to publish his sentiments to the world, he would have a strict right to do so. I do not say what would be the *consequence* to him, in a place where tyranny and cruelty, ambition and the lust of power prevail: The inquisition perhaps might silence such reflections; but it would not, could not, alter the nature of truth; nor could it make right and no right to be the same thing. The truth is, in all cases, where the society have no right to restrain a man, there he *ought* to be at liberty; *i. e.* just as if he were *not* entered into society: and when he *is* entered into it, he would not be true to its interests, if he did not endeavour to remove whatever is prejudicial to it; *i. e.* (if he had no other powers,) if he did not *openly declare*, and *speak freely*, against such unreasonable impositions.

I am very sensible, how easily this branch of liberty may be mistaken by some, and how much it may be misrepresented by others. I therefore ask, what is it that makes *popery* so much complained of by all *Protestants* as such an insupportable slavery? If the pope, in either a civil or ecclesiastical capacity, or both, (for he has both these united) has a right to make what laws about religion he thinks fit, in order to the government of his subjects; and where a minority dissent from such laws, he has a right to hurt them either in their lives, or liberties, or fortunes: I say, that he must have a right to enforce a submission to his determinations, and no one can justly complain of what another has a strict right to. But then, on the other hand, if every man has a right to search the scriptures, and to pursue the dictates of his own conscience; every claim of power that is inconsistent with this right, is an encroachment upon liberty, and to be opposed; and so far as any one suffers his liberty to be encroached on, so far is he in a state of slavery. Now it is impossible that there should be two contradictory rights subsisting at the same time; and for that reason, there cannot be a right to have submission paid, and a right to refuse submission, in the same instances. If therefore a protestant has a right to confute, to remonstrate against, to reject, the impositions of popery; that which gave him his right in this case, is the true source from whence he derives

rives a right to convey to the world his sentiments about any other encroachment upon his liberty whatsoever.

HAPPY that nation, whose liberties are preserved to them sacred and inviolable! There can be nothing wanting to make every thing that is lovely flourish in it: Their trade must be extensive; their manufactures numerous; the people easy, contented, rich, brave: The governours happy, in governing reasonable creatures in a reasonable manner, and commanding what principle teaches to be fit and right. Look, Sir, and see the *fortunate island*, where these effects are best understood, and most likely to be expected; and learn to commiserate and pity almost all the world besides.

I am, S I R.

Your's, &c. E. D.



N U M B. XI.

To the OLD WHIG.

S I R,

IN some of your preceding papers you argued very strongly, and very justly, for the right of *private judgment*; and I make no question

question but that you design to pursue this to-
pick in all its branches. 'Tis the favourite subject
of the OLD WHIGS, and they would as soon
part with their lives, as give up this article of their
liberties. They always measure the degrees of
men's *political* iniquities, by the attempts they
make upon this privilege: And in proportion as
they are known openly or secretly, directly or
indirectly to encroach upon this right, they
judge them not only not fit to be trusted with
power, but they entertain opinions of them as
more or less *dangerous* to the society. Where
any man is so far abandon'd, as openly to ar-
gue against all private judgment, and to main-
tain that the religion of the civil magistrate
ought to be submitted to by all, under pecu-
niary or other mulcts; such prostitutes shew
the use they would put power to, if they had
it; and how readily they would pervert it
to tyranny and oppression. For what can be
a plainer indication of the use they would
make of it, if they had the opportunity,
than openly to avow and defend the princi-
ples by which all oppression is justified?

Mr. *Hobbes* contends, that " the civil so-
" vereign is judge of what doctrines are fit
" to be taught: " that " to him is due ab-
" solute obedience: " that " by his autho-
" rity all sorts of doctrines are to be approved,
" or rejected: " that " if the sovereign were
" to give him command to teach the doc-
" trine of his *Leviathan* in the pulpit, he
" would be as good a minister as any are."

Sup-

Suppose now that Mr. *Hobbes*, or one of his professed disciples, were advanced to very great *power* in any nation; ought one not to expect that he would put in practice the doctrines he contends for, and would act towards others upon the principles which he professes? Would he not attempt to influence his *civil sovereign*, by his notions, if he could attempt to influence the *kingdom* by the publication of such doctrines? Or what is the measure or degree of probability that he would not? The sentiments which any man has firmly imbibed in his own mind, as just or right, are the natural rules of his actions: they are the guides and directors which he naturally follows; and therefore such as they are, such are the practices which are expected from them. If therefore any man should form to himself an opinion, that the "civil sovereign is judge of what doctrines are fit to be taught," and that "an absolute obedience is due to him, whether he approves or rejects any doctrine," is it possible to conceive that great *power* would be safely lodged in such a one's hands: or that persecution, under one shape or other, would not be quickly stirred up against such as should presume to *think for themselves*?

THIS reasoning holds good in every instance to which it can be applied. Take a man that openly maintains the *supremacy* of the *pope*; that declares, that faith is not to be kept with hereticks, and that all are hereticks

ticks who do not profess the opinions authorized by the church; that in order to enlarge a dominion to himself, and to stretch his wings over all men, and all matters as far as he can, should openly avow the exclusion of the civil magistrate from punishing many crimes, under the pretence that they are *spiritual* vices, and therefore not under his cognizance; that should openly maintain that the scriptures are not to be read by all; that only such whom the priest shall trust with that sacred treasure, are to presume to examine and search them; that should insist upon the duties of confession, and the powers of sacerdotal absolutions; and press upon people penances, and such-like fooleries:— Would you place great *power*, and great authority in such hands? Or is it not absolutely necessary to prevent, as much as human prudence can prevent, such persons from the influence of places of *trust* in society? Principles which are inconsistent with the *ends*, or the *good* of civil society, are always to be guarded against, as destructive of it: And such men as are known to maintain and abet them, should not be trusted with a power to put them into practice,

WICKED, self-interested, and ambitious men, who have themselves and their private interest only at heart, will always complain of being injured, if they are denied, what in strict justice they ought to be refused. A papist would be glad to be secure against all exclusive

clusive tests; and every enemy to society would be glad to wanton in power, at the expence of those who are imprudent enough to trust them. But whilst the *end* of society is made the rule of judging of the fitness of principles, or of the natural consequences of principles, *i. e.* practices; it is just as easy to determine in political cases, what is wrong, as it is in geometrical ones, what is absurd. For all principles destructive of true liberty, are as contrary to the *ends* of society, as every notion which supposes the parts to be greater than the whole, is contrary to all the maxims of geometry. As therefore you would justly deny the skill of, and refuse to employ an architect, who should insist that parallel lines are not equidistant, or that an upright wall is not so strong, or likely to last, as one that is inclining; so in point of the interest of a society, you have a right to deny his fitness for the administration of power, who contends for such principles as contradict the foundations of civil government.

"Tis true, that in a large community, where there are many subordinate magistrates, it cannot be expected, that all should be exactly what a wise man would wish. Power must often be communicated to some that are unfit and improper; there will be in the course of things, weak and ignorant, as well as skilful and judicious men, trusted with the execution of the law: There will be men of strong passions, warm, zealous, hasty, inconsiderate

siderate, who will do sometimes things that are improper and unbecoming; and where these are few, the general affairs of the society will go on not very much amiss; the general harmony will not be broke by these discords, nor will the public weal be disconcerted by these unhappy instruments. But even these misfortunes are felt, where their influence extends; and 'tis no little mischief to those who are so situated, as to be necessarily under their cognizance. But when great power is committed to such improper hands, the mischief must be extensive, and the danger must be always proportionable to the influence.

IN a country where the inconvenience of penal laws had long been felt, and at length they were removed by the grant of an indulgence to protestant dissenters; should a man in a low station plead strenuously for the imposition of new penalties; should he spend his time and pains in contriving how to lay equal and proportional *pecuniary mulets* upon such as dissented from the church establish'd: Should he devise how to make men pay yearly a tribute for their liberty in religious sentiments, tho', in great mercy and goodness, he provided to make the burden not so heavy as totally to *crush* or *overwhelm* them: I ask, is such a man fit to be entrusted with power enough to put his avowed opinions in execution? Is he a fit person to be advanced to *dignities*, and put into an office where he might exert himself, and shew his zeal? Or

H what

what may not justly be expected from such men *in power*, when they can make such declarations and professions to the world, when *out of power*?

Go on still, and put the case of one in higher life pleading for "the use of temporal penalties in matters of religion," and contriving how to make them truly beneficial to it; providing them "as a farther terror and punishment, to be called in as oft as the censures of the church are disobey'd;" thinking it reasonable, that "no bills concerning religion should be preferred, or received into the House of Commons, unless the same be first considered and liked by the clergy;" extending ecclesiastical power as much as possible, and contriving (as 'tis said to be the part of a good judge) to enlarge his jurisdiction:—What is to be expected in all justice and reason from a man armed with such principles, but a series of practices suitable unto them? Or would it not be an affront to such men, to think or hope that they would forsake their principles, and act the reverse of what they have all their lives professed?

SET then before these men a *Papist*, and see what judgment they themselves will pass upon his promotion to power and interest: Set before them an *Atheist*, or an *Infidel*, and see what heavy complaints they will make about the disregard to religion: Promote a pure *Hobbist*, and hear the murmurs which these

N^o II. *The OLD WHIG.* 99

men will justly make. If they know the reason why they murmur and complain, they will see the reason why an *Old Whig* complains if a persecutor be promoted, whether he be a little or a great one: Such men are apparent enemies to the liberties of mankind, and enemies to the ends of civil society, notwithstanding they wanton in the pleasures and profits of it. I am,

S I R,

Your's, &c.

T. H.

To the OLD WHIG.

Κακὸν κέραιος καλὸν ὄν.

S I R,

IN my last, I gave you a view of some of the attempts of the *hierarchy* to subvert our constitution and destroy our liberty, before the *reformation*. Your protestant readers would be ready to ask, what is that to us? Did not the *reformation* restore our religion to its primitive purity; and have not its ministers, who teach that the *kingdom of Christ is not of this world*, disclaim'd all temporal power and jurisdiction, and contented themselves with the means recommended in the gospel for the reformation of manners, and the salvation of

H 2

souls?

souls? I wish I could answer in the affirmative; but I am afraid we shall see some traces of the old spirit remaining, after the *reformation*. My Lord *Coke* tells us, Sir, that in 3 *James I.* *Richard Bancroft*, who was also archbishop of *Canterbury*, exhibited certain articles against the judges, intitled, *Certain articles of abuses which are desired to be reform'd in granting prohibitions*; he gives us the articles and the answers thereunto, upon mature deliberation by all the judges of *England*, and barons of the *Exchequer*, with one unanimous consent, under their hands (resolutions of the highest authority in law,) which were delivered to the lords of the council.

THE intent of these articles was visibly to establish an ecclesiastical jurisdiction, independent of the civil magistrate; to flatter the king into an opinion of the ecclesiastical judges desire to encrease his authority; and persuade him to assume to himself an arbitrary power contrary to the constitution, that he might, by that means, support them in their wish'd for independency; and to represent the defenders of the laws and liberties of this nation, as enemies to his person and government, and invaders of his prerogative.

I shall mention two of them, with the answers the judges gave to them; because they have been particularly insisted on by the great author of the *preface* to the *Codex*, and of the *Parallel*, as very proper and reasonable demands

mands; and my Lord Coke's authority is quoted, as favouring such an opinion.

"ARTICLE I. The king hath power to reform abuses in prohibitions".

"THE clergy well hoped they had taken a good course in seeking some redress at his his majesty's hands, concerning sundry abuses offered to the ecclesiastical jurisdiction, by the frequent and undue granting of prohibitions; for they and we supposed (all jurisdiction, both ecclesiastical and temporal, being annexed to the crown of this realm) that his highness had sufficient authority in *himself, with assistance of his council*, to judge what is amiss in either of his said jurisdictions, and to have reformed the same accordingly, &c." And concludes with this most clerical paragraph: "This is the first point we desire may be clear'd, because we are strongly persuaded as touching the validity of his majesty's authority, and do hope *we* shall be able to justify the same, notwithstanding any thing that the judges or any other can allege to the contrary."

THUS were the judges treated, for not giving way to the claims of the *hierarch*; and so must we and all others expect to be, who have the audaciousness to oppose treated, encroachments.

To this article the judges made answer, "No man maketh question, but that both jurisdictions are lawfully and justly in his majesty, and if any abuses there be, they

“ ought to be reformed ; but what the law
 “ doth warrant in cases of prohibitions, to
 “ keep every jurisdiction in its true limits, is
 “ not be said an abuse, nor can be altered but
 “ by parliament.

AND yet, Sir, the author of the *preface* and of the *parallel*, contending to exclude the parliament from meddling in spiritual matters, represents 'our great author my Lord *Coke*, as asserting, that the kingdom of *England* is an absolute empire or monarchy under the king, who exercises an absolute power both in church and state. Vid. *Parallel*.

THE III. article is a modest demand,
 “ That no prohibition on surmise only, be
 “ granted, either out of the King's Bench,
 “ or Common Pleas, but out of the Chan-
 “ cery only.”

THIS demand has been since revived in the *preface* to the *Codex* ; and being animadverted on in a letter from the *Temple*, modestly supported by the author of the *parallel* ; the rather, because the granting prohibitions was a trouble, which the judges desired to be eased of.

THE answer of the judges was as follows,
 “ A strange presumption in ecclesiastical
 “ judges, to require, that the king's courts
 “ should not do that, which by law they
 “ ought to do, and always have done,
 “ and which by oath they are bound to do ;
 “ and if this shall be holden inconvenient,
 “ and they in discharge of us, can obtain
 “ some

“ some act of parliament to take it from all
“ other courts than the chancery, they shall
“ do us a great ease. But the law of the
“ realm cannot be changed but by parlia-
“ ment; and what relief or ease such an act
“ may work the subject, wise men will soon
“ find out and discern. But by these articles,
“ thus dispersed abroad, there is an unbe-
“ seeming aspersiō of that upon the judges,
“ which ought to have been forborn”.

I choose these instances of the old spirit of the hierarchy remaining amongst us, to shew, that the most stale barefaced attempts of former times, continue to be supported by all kinds of prevarication, and false representations of men and things. And these particulars have escaped the animadversion of the ingenious physician, in his treatise of *the claims of the hierarchy, &c.*

BUT nothing, Sir, can give so right an idea of these men, and this spirit, as the history of them from their first obscure original, when the flattering an old woman, to disinherit her heir in favour of the church, was the highest of their ambition, to their full acquisition of grandeur, their excommunication of princes, holy wars, and depopulations of kingdoms. In such a history, Sir, would appear the fatal consequences of their acquisitions, the corruption of doctrine, the depravity of manners, the loss of learning, and every thing praise-worthy; oppressive kings, weak and wicked ministers, lazy

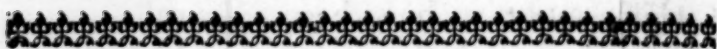
H 4 priests,

104 *The OLD WHIG.* N^o 12,
priests, lands in mortmain, and the poor laity,
like the puppies which were drown'd for
being too long blind, just opening their eyes
when they were sinking.

I am, *S I R,*

Your's,

HUGO DE BURGO.



N U M B. XII.

— *Hic murus abeneus esto*
Nil conscire sibi.

HOR.

TH O' the *name* and private character of
an author is but of little importance
to the publick, and add no manner of weight
to his argument or reasonings; yet as men
have a *natural curiosity* that leads them to
such kind of inquiries, it may not be improp-
er in some respects, *for once*, to gratify it;
especially as I find the world is divided in their
opinions about me, and I pass under a great
variety of censures, according to the different
imaginations and parties of my several read-
ers.

It cannot be expected, however, that I
should inform the publick of *my name*, be-
cause I would not influence any persons ei-
ther

ther in *favour* or in *prejudice* of any of my lucubrations; which, as they are *wholly consecrated* to the cause of *liberty* and truth, I desire all my readers to peruse with the most *disinterested* impartiality; to whose reason and judgment I continually appeal, and question not their candid acceptance and approbation of my labours.

As to my *family*, I have few titles to boast of, higher than that of an *esquire*, under which several of my ancestors have served their country with integrity; who, I mention it to their honour, have maintained, in an *uninterrupted succession*, the genuine principles of *whiggism*: One only *excepted*, who, having been advanced to one of the *principal dignities* of the church, was observed to *cool* a little in the principles of moderation, and *stiffen* in his zeal for church power and authority.

I drew in myself the *love of liberty* with my mother's milk, who was an enemy to *passive obedience* and non-resistance in her own house, and brought up all her children with an *incurable aversion* to these slavish doctrines. And accordingly I gave an early proof how much I profited by her instructions, by placing myself at the head of a noble opposition to a *petty tyrant*, about the 12th year of my age, who made his subjects feel the smart of his unmerciful corrections, without ever shewing them where they were to blame, or *convincing* them that they had offended. I began, propagated, and brought to perfection the
necessary

necessary revolt. Our opposition was successful. We procured an *intire revolution* in the government, and settled for the future the *little commonwealth* upon such equitable concessions, as secured a *just authority* to the head, and a *full security* to every member of it.

My *education* was liberal. I breathed for four years the delightful air of *alma mater*, and was an *intimate companion* with some who are now grown reverend with the episcopal dignity, and fill some of the best preferments in our excellent church. I was esteem'd to be a lad of good parts, and a blunt elocution; and it was the general opinion of me, that with care I might make a *considerable man*. I somewhat improved these advantages of my first education, by travelling into foreign parts, where I made proper observations upon the state of the several governments I passed through; and found this maxim universally and invariably hold true, that the *clergy's exorbitant power* was always *fatal* to the liberties of nations; and that their grandure, riches and authority had no other real foundation than ignorance, superstition and vice, and tended to introduce poverty, slavery and utter ruin amongst the people.

FULLY established in this persuasion, from the most convincing experience, I returned pleased and delighted to this my native country, which I looked on as the *favourite residence*, the sacred temple of LIBERTY. But what was my surprise, when I
saw

saw the disorder and confusion into which the whole nation was thrown by an insolent, seditious, and *frantick priest* ! The flagrancy of his crimes caused me to wonder at the slightness of his punishment. His *triumphant progress* through the several towns and cities of the kingdom, made me at a loss to guess, which was greater, the *impudence* of the priest, or the *madness* of the people. The fatal revolutions that followed in the counsels of the court, the conduct of the ministry, and the state of our affairs abroad, made me detest him as *the wretched excrement* of a party, cast out, by an offensive favour to corrupt and poison a whole nation. The advancement of one of the *apostle's successors* to the custody of a seal, that the poor fishermen, they claim from, could never boast the keeping of, and to manage the affairs of a peace abroad, that was founded upon *perfidy*, and cemented by *innocent blood*, and which hath *scarce ever since had the peace of God to attend it*, seem'd indeed to raise a general expectation in the *hierarchical tribe*, that *the happy Laudean times were then reviving, when the saints should possess the kingdom*, and the priests take to themselves their great power, and reign. But how different were my reflections? “ What, “ said I, *are the clergy of this church too*, like “ other men ? Is religion their *pretence* ; and “ the world the *main point* in their view ? Do “ they preach mortification, and indifference “ to riches and honours, *not for themselves,* “ but

“ but the *good people* they watch over? are the
 “ ambassadors of CHRIST become the am-
 “ bassadors of an earthly prince; and instead
 “ of mediating a peace upon *honourable terms*
 “ between heaven and earth, are they em-
 “ ploy’d in forcing *dishonourable terms* of peace
 “ upon injured nations, and snatching all the
 “ fruits of victory and triumph out of their
 “ hands, to establish their cause of oppression
 “ and tyranny? ”

THESE kind of reflections so often recur-
 red to my mind, that I confess they made a
 deep impression on me for some time, *in pre-
 judice* of the whole body of our clergy;
 whom I began to look upon in the same view
 here at home, as I had looked upon them a-
 broad; as *a combination against the liberties of
 mankind*, who under a pretence of religion,
 and the covert of a *sacred character*, meant,
 in reality, nothing more than to *enrich and
 aggrandize* themselves, without scrupling any
 measures they thought necessary, or imme-
 diately conducive to these ends.

BUT my *natural equity* gradually led me
 to other sentiments. I considered, that ma-
 ny of the first reformers were themselves of
 the clergy, and that all protestant king-
 doms were greatly indebted to their learning,
 honesty, and zeal. The steady opposition
 that was raised and carried on by an *eminent
 prelate* of our own church, to the principles
 of civil and spiritual tyranny, and that unan-
 swerable strength with which he defended the
 liberties

liberties of mankind, notwithstanding the *bitterest invectives* against his person and cause, and tho' earth and hell were stirred up to oppress him, abundantly convinced me, that sincerity, honour, moderation, the love of liberty, in a word, every virtue might dwell under *an ecclesiastical habit*, and render the person of a clergyman *truly amiable* and reverend. I farther remembred, that whatever were the extravagant claims of some *aspiring presumptuous churchmen* amongst us, they had no countenance from the *articles*, liturgy, or homilies of the church; which bounds, in her 20th article, her claims of *power to decree rites and ceremonies*, and her *authority in controversies of faith*, wholly and absolutely *by scripture*, and places this power and authority, whatsoever it be, *equally in the laity* as in the clergy, by defining, in her 19th article, *the visible church* to be, *a congregation of faithful men, in which the pure word of God is preached, and the sacraments be duly administer'd according to Christ's ordinance, in all those things that of necessity are requisite to the same.* And from hence I learnt to distinguish our clergy into two classes. The *sober, moderate*, and pious part of them, who adhere to protestant principles, by allowing the authority and sufficiency of scripture; who are friends to the rights of conscience and the liberties and privileges of the christian people; and who hate all measures and principles of tyranny and persecution; These I esteem

esteem and honour as sound protestants, and the *only genuine sons* of the church of *England*. But as for those of them, who are *intoxicated* with notions of spiritual power, who usurp the name of the church only to themselves, who imagine they are invested with authority *to impose* on the consciences of others, who are for the application of fines, imprisonments, and other wholesome severities, as methods of conviction and conversion, and finally for setting up for an *independency* on the civil magistrate; these, of all orders, and degrees, I look upon as a *spurious* and *bastard* race; the proper sons of that *adulterous church*, whose wantonness and lust hath been the reproach of the christian name, and destructive to the faith and morals of the gospel. They call themselves the sons of the church of *England*, only to conceal the shame and infamy of their true original, and pretend a zeal for it, only that they may corrupt and ruin it.

AND as I thus publicly declare myself an enemy to none but those, who are enemies to the true protestant principles of the church of *England*; so I doubt not but I shall be esteemed as an hearty friend to it, by all who wish to see her encreasing prosperity; as I shall make it appear that I really am, in the course of these papers, by defending that foundation which alone can support her, and justify her in her separation from *the synagogue of Rome*.

I HAVE indeed seen myself censured by tools and bigots, as a *presbyterian*, — an *antiministerial* man, — as almost every thing, but that which I know myself to be, an *Old Whig*, and a *Consistent Protestant*. But I assure my readers, that I am no more a believer in the divine original of the discipline of *Geneva* or *Edinburgh*, than I am in that of *Rome* or *Canterbury*; that I as little like *the stool of repentance*, as the *white sheet of penance*; that in matters of faith I pay no more deference to a *Scotch* assembly, with *Mr. Moderator* at the head of them, than I do to an *English* convocation, under the presidency of a *Prolocutor* or *Archbishop*; but that, as I often frequent the public worship of the church, so I am not *bigot* enough to *for swear* ever entering into a conventicle, or to join in worship with an honest *protestant dissenter*. The friends of truth, liberty and virtue, amongst all parties, I esteem and honour; and none else of any party whatsoever.

As to the charge of my being an *antiministerial* writer, this surely is thrown with a very ill grace by *ministerial* men. Can then a paper, written in defence of liberty, and upon the principles of *whiggism*, be *now* *antiministerial*? Are the great men in power *Tories* and *Jacobites*? Are they undermining the foundations of liberty? Are they sacrificing the rights of the christian laity to the *usurpations* of the hierarchy? Have they sold and enslaved themselves to ecclesiastical tyrants? Do they allow
and

and authorise in them the claim of a supremacy in spirituals, and an independency on the crown? Do they dispose of church-preferments to men, who openly declare for fines and penalties upon protestant dissenters? Were these measures pursued by the great men now in power, there is not an honest *whig*, or a real protestant in the kingdom, but must be in principle *so far* an enemy to these measures. But if they neither approve nor pursue them, every honest man must be their friend; and the charging this paper with antiministerial views, is a scandalous reflection on the ministry itself, and can have nothing but calumny and falshood to support it.



N U M B. XIII.

To the OLD WHIG.

Hoc autem liberiores & solutiores sumus, quod integra nobis est judicandi potestas. C I C.

S I R,

AS you have engaged in the defence of the glorious cause of liberty; and have undertaken to explain its principles, which is the only recommendation they want to make

make them universally received; I hope you won't look on any inquiry, which conduces to that end, as a digression from your main purpose. --- It appears to me to be the true basis on which all freedom of private judgment is built, that no opinion whatsoever (for I know no distinction between what is called *civil* and *religious*) can be reasonably the object of *laws*, or cognizable by society. This principle is founded on a certain truth, which can't be disputed without opposing the plainest dictates of reason, and the universal experience of mankind, *viz.* that no *mere* opinions can be *hurtful* to society. I was therefore much concern'd to find it hinted, tho' in *well-guarded* expressions, more than once in your paper, that persons openly avowing it as their religious opinion, that others should be deprived of their natural rights, ought to be under *legal incapacities*, to prevent their obtaining an oppressive and destructive power. As this point immediately concerns the rights of subjects, and the *extent* of civil liberty; and as I apprehend that the case here supposed is not a *single* one, as some gentlemen seem to imagine, but must, by a parity of reasoning, involve in it many others, that will be attended with most important consequences; I shall endeavour to represent it in a distinct and clear light.

SUCH as maintain the principle above-mention'd, as they differ from me with re-

I

spect

spect to a material truth, are indeed very improper to be chosen by me, to give my consent either to the *making* laws, or *altering* them; or in other words, they are very unfit to be trusted by me, with my share of the *legislative* authority. The reason of this is most obvious, because I can have no recourse to any *superior* power, to compel them to act contrary to *their own* opinions, or agreeably to *mine*. A conformity of opinion therefore must be the first consideration of every individual of a society, in the choice of the *legislature*.

BUT the case is quite different with regard to the *executive* power. Men's *abilities*, and their having given evident proofs of their *integrity*, are the only requisites for any office, in the *execution* of the laws; because, in a well-founded state, every such officer, be his *opinions* what they will, must either faithfully discharge the duty of his office, or be punished for his neglect, and for every instance of arbitrary oppression and tyranny. And it is a notorious *defect* in the laws, if the punishments appointed are not sufficient to prevent all offences against 'em, that are subversive of *liberty*, and a violation of natural justice. 'Tis undeniable, that *appetites* and *affections* have a much more powerful influence on the bulk of mankind, than mere *speculative* principles; and yet if the punishments annexed to a criminal indulgence of irregular and mischievous appetites, are not strong

strong enough to *deter* men from it, the community must be in a bad state; nay, if they had not really this effect in *general*, the disorder and confusion would be so great, arising from an *uncontroul'd* licentiousness, that societies must be quite *dissolv'd*. If therefore *severe penalties* were provided for every act of *insolence*, *partiality*, and *oppression*, committed by the officers employ'd by society to administer justice, and put the laws in execution; there would be a great deal less danger from *wrong speculations*, than there is from *corrupt passions*; and the properties and civils rights of the subject would be *sufficiently* guarded and secured. This is arguing from *fact* and *observation*, which are not such fallacious guides as abstract *theories*; but, on the contrary, are the surest rule we can proceed by, in framing *wise* and *practicable* expedients for maintaining equity and order amongst men. And whenever it happens that a person of approved abilities, integrity, and knowledge of the laws is refused an office, for avowing, what the society may think, an *injurious oppressive* principle; and another is employ'd, that wants these *essential* qualifications, only for professing sentiments, that are apprehended to be more *friendly to liberty*; I say, if ever this happens, (and there may be a variety of cases, in which the one or the other of these characters must of necessity be *preferr'd*) 'tis hardly possible, but that cool and impartial men

must consider this management as *weak* and *arbitrary*, and very prejudicial to the true interest of their country. And this, I think, amounts to a demonstration, that the general rule, asserted and urged by the gentlemen above referred to, is not an *eternal* law of reason, nor an *immutable* principle of right and equity, nor, consequently, an *invariable* rule of government.

To sum up the argument, and put it, at the same time, in a somewhat different light; I would propose the following queries to the zealous advocates for a *scrutiny* into men's religious sentiments, or for *legal incapacities* on account of any opinions, how *publicly* so ever maintain'd and defended.

ARE not *actions* the only things that can affect society?

MAY not *these* be sufficiently enforced, or prevented, so far, I mean, as is necessary for the preservation and support of government, by *rewards* and *punishments*, let men's opinions be *right*, or *wrong*?

SINCE in all *well-regulated*, i. e. *free* societies, the *legislative* power, which is the majority of the people acting by their representatives, are able to enforce the obedience of the *executive*, and restrain its excesses; why should any exception be made against *opinions*?

MERE notions and schemes, whether in religion, or politics, *hurt* not society; what hurt is there then in *publishing* them? Or what

what mischief can result from *converting* a man to any particular sentiments, if his private judgment is *in itself* not at all detrimental to liberty and the public peace?

Is not he as good a member of the community, that *constantly* obeys the laws, from a regard to their sanctions, *against* his opinion, as he that does it in *conformity* to it?

CAN a *test* be invented to hinder any but *honest* men from taking offices? And can such accept of a trust with an intent to *betray* it?

AND if the truth really be, that *opinions* are the objects of *laws*, will it not follow, that all opinions which either *directly*, or in their *consequences*, weaken the obligations of moral virtue, and are prejudicial to society, are proper to be consider'd by the *legislature*, and guarded against? — And as the *legislature*, in every country, must judge for itself what those opinions are, and what is the most effectual preservative against their malignant influence; is not this throwing down all the *fences* that secure our liberties? — Does it not open a door for boundless *impositions*, and encroachments on the rights of conscience? — Is it not the principle, from whence all *negative discouragements*, and the most *inhuman persecutions*, have took their rise?

I shall not attempt to specify, particularly, the inconveniences which would arise from society's taking cognizance of *opinions*, because they are infinite; and I have endeavour'd

your'd to explain my sentiments in the fewest words I was able, because I would leave myself an excuse for troubling you with my further thoughts on this subject, if any objections should be offer'd, which are worth considering. I know that the case of the *Roman Catholics* will be the first objection in every *Protestant's* way. But let them consider, how do the *Roman Catholics* hurt us? Is it by believing in the *deifying* power of the priest, and the *divinity* of a transubstantiated wafer? Is it by any *mere* opinions, however senseless and immoral? — Is it not entirely by their *actions*, such as sending abroad *money*, and *children*, and introducing a *foreign* jurisdiction? — Let the laws against these *actions* be strictly put in execution, (many of which were made by our *popish* ancestors) and the laws against *breach of faith*, *oppression*, and *cruelty*; and then we may allow them, without the least hazard to the *community*, to believe as many of their absurdities, and antichristian doctrines, as they are able. I am,

S I R, *Your, &c.*

LAICUS.

NUMB.



N U M B. XIV.

To the OLD WHIG.

S I R,

IF you are the impartial person, which your title promises, and which I make no question but that you are, I shall expect to see the following letter inserted as soon as you can with convenience. It was occasioned by one you lately published upon a very important subject: and tho' I differ from the ingenious author of it; yet as the fixing rightly the grounds of liberty is both his and my endeavour, I am sure he cannot be disobliged by the discussion of so material a point,

I am, S I R,

Your's, &c.

S I R,

WERE a man to sit down and form to himself a plan of a commonwealth, he would naturally consider what liberties the subject was to part with, and what powers the magistrates ought to be intrusted with,

with, and ought to exert. And as he would have no difficulties concerning the right of punishing certain *Actions*, it is very probable that he would fall into the consideration, whether the magistrate could have *any* power over the *opinions* of the subject, and *how* he ought to act in relation to them. All *actions* which are contrary to the welfare of the state wou'd soon be seen to be within his cognizance; but it may be more difficult to determine, whether the *principles of action* are so; and whether he would act justly, if he had any regard to *these* in the distribution of places of interest and power.

No doubt, opinions *undivulged* are the same to all intents and purposes of this inquiry with *no* opinions: What are *concealed*, and what are *not*, are the same thing. The inquiry then would be concerning *opinions published* to the world; and here the question is, how far the *civil* magistrate may take notice of them, and whether he would act justly or unjustly in excluding men from *power*, on account of their *opinions* openly profess'd to the world.

To determine this, it must be allow'd on all hands, that many *opinions* are such as neither directly nor indirectly, neither immediately nor remotely, affect civil society: And in this case the civil magistrate, as such, ought to be entirely unconcerned. For where the good of the public, or the ends for which men engage in society, are no ways affected, there

there the guardians of the public interest can have no right to intermeddle. But then, where *opinions* are such as *immediately* affect the ends of society, there the magistrate has a right to interpose, and to exclude from all power such as are the patrons and defenders of notions which are destructive to the society. He must always keep in view the ends of society; and measure every thing by *them*, and not by any other rule whatever. It does not at all affect society, immediately or remotely, which opinion a man holds, (to take an instance from a book now lying before me,) whether space and time are necessarily infinite, or whether they are mere abstract ideas? Whether atheism or polytheism are most effectually confuted, by the argument *a priori*, or by that *a posteriori*? These, and ten thousand such debates, do not at all concern the interests, or good of society, which way soever they are held by learned men; and consequently the civil magistrate, as guardian of society, has no authority to interpose. In these and such cases the good of society may be strictly regarded by any or every man, in every degree of power, which side soever he takes in these questions; and if a man strictly adheres to his own principles on either side the public is in no danger of suffering, and consequently they that are intrusted with the care of the public have nothing to do with him. But then in proportion, as opinions more nearly affect the good of the commonweal, it be-
comes

comes reasonable to guard against their influence; and care should always be taken, that such as openly avow, what, if put in practice, would be hurtful, should not have it in their *power* to do, what they give public notice to the world that they think is right to be done; and what they declare that they themselves would do.

EVERY civil society has a right to preserve itself and all its members from destruction; and every individual member that engages in it, is looked upon, and ought to be treated as a friend to it, and has a right to protection in all his properties, till he is seen and known to be an enemy. When such enmity appears, every body must judge of the quantity of guilt incurr'd: and how far all, or what part, or what degree, of right to security or advantages, have been forfeited, and what remain to the offender. As the society has a right to preserve itself, it must have a right to all the necessary means to its own safety. And for this reason it is, that if the persons who are trusted with the legislative or executive power of any nation, should at any time happen to be such as are incapacitated by nature, or should resolutely pursue such steps as are contrary to the ends of civil society, or openly avow opinions destructive of it, they may and ought to be excluded from the administration of it: *e. g.*

IF in an hereditary government, the heir of the crown should be a lunatic; or if the possessor

possessor of it should become a known open enemy to the community; it would become prudent, and reasonable, and necessary, to exclude such a person from the succession, or from the possession of the supreme power; and it would be right to enter into such measures as are absolutely necessary to secure the society. Again,

THE wisdom of this nation has been such, as to exclude from the crown not only all *Papists* but even such as *marry Papists*: and this is done upon reasons specified in the acts of parliament, because "it has been found
" by *experience*, that it is inconsistent with
" the *safety* and *welfare* of this *Protestant*
" *kingdom* to be govern'd by a *Popish* prince,
" or by any king or queen marrying a *Papist*." It is therefore declared, that all and every person and persons that is, are, or shall
" be reconciled to, or shall hold communion
" with, the see or church of *Rome*, or shall
" *PROFESS* the *Popish religion*, or marry
" a *Papist*, shall be excluded, and be forever incapable to inherit, possess, or enjoy the crown and government of this
" realm." — 12 and 13 *W. & M.* c. 2.

THE reason of this exclusion is founded upon *experience*, that a *Papist* is by *principle* an enemy to the *safety* and *welfare* of this *Protestant kingdom*; and that the *profession* alone of the *Popish religion*, is a sufficient declaration of such enmity: and that 'tis much more prudent to guard against his being admitted to power, than to trust to the false
security

curity of the severest laws against him, when he is in plenary possession of it; surrounded with guards and forces, and secured by the command of forts and garrisons, armies and fleets under his direction and pay; besides numerous other influences which I need not point out.

It may perhaps, you'll say, be deem'd prudent to keep the *supreme power* out of the hands of a Papist, because it may be hard to execute the laws against one that is in full possession of it. But how does the case stand with relation to *inferior* persons, who may with ease be *punished* if they transgress their duties? Why may not *they* be admitted to any offices of trust, or interest, or power, notwithstanding their *opinions*, if they are but liable to penalties severe enough, if ever they are caught offending? I should answer,

SUPPOSE laws as severe as you please against the abuse of authority, yet no man can deny, that to put one's self under the power of such as profess it their opinion that they may or ought to hurt one, is running a manifest risque: and to venture such a risque, is surely the heighth of folly and imprudence. This is to put one's self first into a man's power, whose avow'd principle it is to injure you; and then to venture the after-game of getting redress. Is this the practice in common life in any instance whatever? Should you know a man whose avowed *opinion* it was, that no regard was to be paid to *honour*,

or *bonesty*; that there ought to be an unbounded enjoyment of all and every natural appetite; that there can be no crime in indulging any inclinations — Would you make such a man the companion, the tutor or guardian of your *daught*er; or would you not shut him out of your house? Would you trust the man with the receipt or custody of your money, who openly should avow that *property* is not *sacred*? Or would you make such a man your executor, or trust him with the fortune you design'd for your son that is a minor? The temptation is too great to one who professes his desires, and designs to close in with it: and notwithstanding a man may be punished sufficiently if he be taken, and proved guilty of a breach of laws, yet the folly of such a confidence would be nevertheless inexcusable, when the mischievous effects of it come to be felt.

AND thus it is in the case of *power*: punish an offender as severely as you can; yet so many chances intervene; so many ways there are of eluding laws; so many steps may be taken which are prejudicial to the public good, which yet are not cognizable by courts of human judicature; there are so many arts open to secure and strengthen a faction in power, that it wou'd be the height of imprudence to trust to the remedy of *punishments*. And if it be *imprudent* to trust to them, it certainly must be *unreasonable* and *improper*.

THE threat of death, or the frequent execution of it, does not deter a villain from robbery, or from putting his bad principles into practice, tho' he knows the consequence will be so certain and so great punishment. Would you therefore *trust* such a man, whose wickedness you know beforehand; because you can *punish* him when he is caught? Or is it not common *prudence* to guard against him, and to prevent, if possible, the mischiefs that are foreseen?

THE principles of action operate so naturally and so strongly (especially where they have the additional spring of religious motives,) that you must not imagine that goodness, humanity, or any other virtue, will generally prevail against their strength and importunacy. Sometimes indeed it is possible that it may; but he that will depend upon that, knows little of what passes in the world. When an innocent, upright, virtuous, conscientious man is seized by the inquisition, and condemn'd to the flames, how easily is christianity, compatriotism, relation, kindred, every good and kind affection, brought to give way to the *opinion* of the duty of destroying an heretic? Stamp but that odious name upon the sincerely good man; and even joy and pleasure shall appear in the countenances of spectators, who shall make no distinction betwixt such a man and the greatest villain that was ever executed.

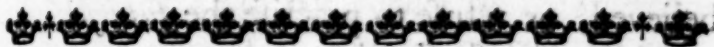
THIS will shew you how naturally principles

ples influence practice; and what high folly it is to place in power, and then to depend for security, on any men whose avowed *principles* are destructive of the common welfare. And surely there is more real security to every man, and what he would purchase at some price, to have no grounds to suspect an invasion of his rights, than there is, when he must be constantly trying to catch a known, powerful, professed enemy to them. At least it appears in this light to,

S I R,

Your's, &c.

E. R.



N U M B. XV.

Papatum non agnoscimus pro ecclesia, neque pro parte ejus, sed pro corruptione & desolatione, sive pro antichristo, qui ecclesiam, verbum & ordinem Dei impugnatur, et se supra illos extollit, ut Deus Deorum.

Luther. de Miss. Solitar.

Men and brethren, fellow christians and Protestants,

THE Protestant religion and liberties, which, by the favour of Almighty God, you are in quiet possession of, are blessings

sings *envied* you by all the antichristian powers of the church of *Rome*. The *northern heresy*, such they call your religion, is the object of their *incurable hatred*, and what they have for many years sworn and laboured the destruction of. Tho' nothing is more evident, than that popery is the vilest *corruption* of the christian religion, and hath not so much as maintained the very *appearance* of christian worship; yet such is the *impudence* of this imposture, that she *appropriates* the name of *the true church* and religion to herself, consigns over to eternal damnation, and persecutes with relentless fury, all without exception, where her power reaches, who dare deny the *absurdities* she commands to be believed, or refuse to practise the *superstitions* and idolatries she enjoins.

IT might reasonably be hoped, that the frequent experience which this nation hath had, of the perfidy and cruelty of the church of *Rome*, the persecutions which she is at this day carrying on against our brethren the Protestants, in *France*, *Germany*, and other places, and especially the advantage which we have in reading and examining the sacred writings, should be abundantly sufficient to prevent our entertaining any favourable opinions of the religion of that church, and the increase of converts to her communion. But her arts are innumerable, and her endeavours unwearied to proselyte corrupt, and unthinking men. Her priests and missionaries are indefatigable

defatigable in the vineyard, and boast of a large and plentiful harvest.

AND in the midst of these triumphs over the protestant religion and liberties, Protestants themselves, I speak it with grief, are lending their *helping hands* to the cause of popery; and are not ashamed to disperse papers thro' the most distant parts of the kingdom, professedly maintaining the church of *Rome* to be a true church, and persuading men to believe, that they may continue without danger of salvation in it.

THE first Reformers and Protestants were of quite different sentiments, and would have abhorred such a conduct. The motto to this paper shews *Luther's* opinion. *We don't acknowledge, says he, the papacy for the church, neither for part of it, but for corruption and desolation, or for antichrist, who opposes the church, the word and order of God, and exalts itself above them AS GOD OF GODS.*

WHEN the Protestants were charged with schism for their separation from the *Romish* communion, *Bucer* replied: *Schism with them, (the Romanists) is to depart from their antichrist to Christ the Lord, and to exchange the abominations of antichrist, for the doctrines and institutions of Christ; and therefore we glory in the name of schism. For we could not belong to the members of Christ, if we should adhere to the body of antichrist.* Apud Seckend. Lib. 3. § 122.

IT would indeed be endless to produce all
K the

the testimonies of the first reformers, unanimously agreeing, that the church of *Rome* was *no part of the true church* of Christ, and urging *from hence* the *necessity* of separation from it. And that this was not bare assertion, fellow-protestants, but an opinion founded on the most substantial reason, I will leave you yourselves to judge, when you have perused the following account of the state of the church of *Rome* when the reformation first began, and which continues to be much the same to the present time.

“ THE antichristian papacy, says my
 “ author, was *so abominable and foul a beast*,
 “ that *Paul* and *John* could scarce suffi-
 “ ciently describe him. The passion and sa-
 “ tisfaction of Christ was treated as a mere
 “ history, like the *Odysses* of *Homer*. Con-
 “ cerning justifying faith there was a deep
 “ silence. Christ was described as a cruel
 “ judge, damning all who wanted the inter-
 “ cession of the saints, and the indulgences of
 “ the pope. They placed in the room of
 “ Christ, intercessors and favours, the vir-
 “ gin *Mary* like the *Pagans Diana*, and
 “ many other saints, new ones being fre-
 “ quently created by the popes. And yet
 “ even these they taught would not pray for
 “ us, unless we merited it of them, and of
 “ the orders and societies which they found-
 “ ed. And they shewed by what Works
 “ this was to be done. Not by those which
 “ were truly good. These were mean things.
 Those

“ Those who gave the most money, those
 “ were the true penitents, who merited eter-
 “ nal life; and those who neglected to do
 “ this were damned, or went to purgatory
 “ without redemption. Fastings, frequent
 “ recitals of the Lord’s prayer, and the an-
 “ gels salutation, rosaries, *Mary’s* cloak, *Ur-*
 “ *jula’s* and *Bridget’s* prayers, recitals of the
 “ psalters, singing, bellowing, crying, mutter-
 “ ing; these were their good works, which
 “ they esteem’d more than the passion and in-
 “ nocence of Christ. The use of flesh, butter
 “ and cheese was forbidden, and the eating
 “ them was a heinous sin, not to be pardon’d
 “ without money. Add to this, their mul-
 “ titude of festivals, their pilgrimages to
 “ *Rome* and *Jerusalem*, to *St. James’s* and
 “ *St. Catherine* on mount *Sinai*, to *St. Mi-*
 “ *chael*, *Fulda* and *Wolffgang*. The places
 “ of pilgrimage were as numerous as the
 “ hills, valleys, woods and very trees. But
 “ all this trouble might be redeemed with
 “ money. The offerings to the monasteries
 “ and priests were money and precious
 “ things, hens, geese, ducks, eggs, linnen,
 “ hemp, butter and cheese. Every place
 “ sounded with bells, and grew warm
 “ with incense and oblations. Men got
 “ drunk at the taverns, and then confirm-
 “ ed all they had done by going to mass.
 “ New sacraments were invented, such as
 “ confirmation and unction. The bishops,
 “ instead of preaching, consecrated priests

“ monks, bells, temples, chapels, churches,
 “ images, wafers, cakes, and church-yards.
 “ Reliques were in high esteem; bones,
 “ arms, feet, inshrined with gold and silver
 “ cases, which were held out to be kissed in
 “ time of mass. There were an almost in-
 “ finite number of friarhoods erected, who
 “ had their priests, altars, churches, tapers,
 “ incensings and holidays. The monastic
 “ vows were obedience, poverty and chastity;
 “ and into their monasteries children were
 “ received against the consent of their pa-
 “ rents, and women who had withdrawn
 “ from their husbands beds. Masses were
 “ celebrated every day in cities, villages, cas-
 “ tles, churches and chapels; masses were
 “ also celebrated for the dead, even such as
 “ had been dead many ages. The pope was
 “ accounted infallible, and looked upon as
 “ God, whom no one ought to contradict,
 “ or dared do with impunity, The popes
 “ excommunicated *Cæsar*, kings, princes,
 “ and whole provinces, and excited them to
 “ war one with another,” &c.

THUS far my author, *Frederick Mico-*
nius, who lived at the beginning of the re-
 formation, and wrote what he himself was a
 witness to. Nor is modern popery much al-
 tered from what it then was, nor are any of the
 corruptions in doctrine and worship, which
 he then complained of, now remov'd. And
 can you discern, fellow-protestants, any
 marks amongst these various particulars of the
 church

church of Christ? Any traces of that spiritual and reasonable worship which he recommended? Or of those divine and excellent doctrines which he taught? Can these be the genuine followers of Christ, who have thus made void the fundamental doctrines of his gospel, and converted the worship of it into the most childish, absurd and impious superstitions?

THAT popery is a real and *entire perversion* of the gospel of Christ, may be demonstrated from innumerable particulars. The infallibility which it ascribes to the popes, or councils, is subversive of, and hath been often set up in direct opposition to the authority of God, and the supreme dominion of Christ over the church. The *power* which the priests claim to *bind and loose*, is a power to dispense with the conditions of salvation, and to absolve men from their obedience to the christian law. The sacraments, which they pretend to minister, are not *the appointments of our blessed Saviour*, but the invention of their own superstition, that have no agreement in their form, design, or use, with the plain institutions of his gospel. The merit of his death is denied and represented as ineffectual by the impurities of their *mass*. His intercession is superseded by the *intercession of saints* and angels. The terrors of a future punishment defeated by the cheats of *purgatory*. His church defil'd by *idols* of stone and wood, and his worship defaced by sordid superstitions,

perstitutions, and the most stupid and monstrous idolatries.

THE church of *England*, in her homilies *against peril of idolatry*, charges the church of *Rome* with having occasioned men by their images *to commit horrible idolatries*, which she justly calls *foul abuses*, and *great enormities*, and a *most odious and abominable vice*; and says, that *they that love such evil things, they that trust in images, they that make them, they that favour them, and they that honour them, are all worthy of death*. And in the conclusion of her first homily *against peril*, &c. thus exhorts her children: *Let us, brethren, rather follow the council of the good angel of God, than the suggestion of subtil satan, who attempts by such sacrilege, to deprive God of his due honour; and because his own face is horrible and ugly, to convey it to himself by the mediation of gilt stocks and stones, and to make us the enemies of God, and his own suppliants and slaves, and in the end procure us for a reward everlasting destruction and damnation.*

So that the judgment which the church of *England* forms of the church of *Rome*, is the same with that of all the other churches of the reformation. She denies it to be the true church of Christ, and condemns her idolatries as an abominable vice, the continuance in which will procure us, for a reward, everlasting destruction and damnation. But how charitable are some of her professed sons
grown

grown in this respect? Displeased with the severe censure of their mother, they speak a softer language; and out of a fond affection for the old forsaken *prostitute*, will have her to be a true church, the spouse of Christ; tho' a little disordered, and over-run with the slight distemper of a *leprosy* or *plague*. Charitable men! How amiable, how consistent, to see Protestants turning advocates for the synagogue of *Rome*! Our worthy *diocesan* excites his clergy, by circular letters, to preach against Popery: But least it be too harshly spoken of, the *W—rs* and *V—ns* put in a friendly caveat: Oh call her not *whore*! Don't deny her to be a true church. Bishop *Laud* says she is *a member of the whole*. Don't represent the impossibility or danger of salvation in her communion.

BUT why this tenderness in the present conjuncture, amidst the common complaints of the growth of Popery? Can it be an argument to prevent its increase, to represent it to the world as the doctrine of the church of *England*, that the church of *Rome* hath the true *essence* of a christian church; that salvation is to be obtained in her communion; and that those who have the liberty of consulting the sacred oracles, are neither *mad*, nor *want an excuse* for their madness, in embracing the errors and idolatries of the *Romish* church? Will not Popish missionaries make their use of this concession? *This fatal concession*! Will they not cut away the foundations of the

Protestant religion and liberties, with these instruments which are furnished them, unhappily, by Protestants themselves?

BUT why do I wonder, since the reason of this conduct is obvious? If the church of *Rome* be no christian church, down goes *the Dagon* of these *philistines*, the idol of the *apostolic uninterrupted succession*, and all the imaginary powers that are to be convey'd with it. But rather than loose the honours of such an original, rather than be deprived of the pleasures of this boasted descent; the *mother of harlots*, and of the abominations of the earth, *Rome*, the *sink* of corruption, the *foul adulteress* of the kings of the earth, that *is drunk with the blood* of martyrs, wears the *titles of blasphemy*, curses all the churches of the reformation, and *greedily pants* after the destruction of the religion and liberties of these nations; even *Rome* shall be defended as *a real part* of the church of Christ, and as *the mother* too of the church of *England*.

BUT let not the *sacred name* of the church of *England* be thus dishonoured and prostituted. This charity she never taught. This necessary dependence on, this near relation to the church of *Rome*, she never inculcates. She separated from her as an anti-christian church; and when she renounced her idolatries, declared them foul and damnable. Let not therefore, fellow-Protestants, any favourable opinions of her doctrines and practices ever find admission into your
minds,

minds, and prepare you for a return into her communion. If you love christianity, you must abhor that church which hath in every article corrupted it. If you value your liberties, approach not a single step towards her; for she is insinuating and deceitful, and will try every art to bring you within her power, that when she has gained her ends, she may correct you with rods, and *chastise you with scorpions.*



N U M B. XVI.

To the OLD WHIG.

S I R,

THERE is scarce any thing so clear and evident, which men, who are even rightly disposed to truth, by one accident or other, do not contest: and where the principles of *liberty* are concerned, I do not wonder that men are jealous, and watch every step, and examine critically every motion, and every action; lest their darling should be betrayed by false, or careless, or imprudent friends, or seiz'd by open enemies. Such a guard is highly commendable; and every adversary

verfary that is truly generous, and that knows how much its friends value liberty, would never take it amifs, if every appearance of a false notion be canvafs'd, and every thing that has a tendency to subvert it be fully difcufs'd.

WHEN the power of the civil magistrate, and the confequence of his being armed with the ftrength of the fociety, is confidered, it is eafy to forefee, that there may be frequent mifapplications of it: They are men, and but men, that are intrufted; and therefore, ignorance, miftake, and wrong judgment, will prevail in fome; and in others there will be perversenefs, corruption, ambition, ill defigns, and mifchievous praftices: They will fometimes have little or no regard to the *good* of the fociety; and fometimes the very *ends* of it will be quite out of view. It may be faid then, that “ If you allow to *men* the power
 “ of judging of *opinions*, or grant them a
 “ power to exclude from offices of trust,
 “ from places and from honours, on account
 “ of *sentiments* only, without waiting for
 “ *actions*, which are the vifible breaches of
 “ the laws of the community; you trust
 “ them with a power which may be preju-
 “ dicial to the fociety. For how far muft
 “ thefe exclusive principles be carried? Or
 “ where will you bound them, if once they
 “ are admitted? Muft not the limit be in
 “ effect, the mere diflike of the magistrate?
 “ And then, according as the magistrate is,
 “ if he be a good *churchman*, he will exclude
 “ all

“ all *dissenters* from places of trust; if he be
 “ a *dissenter*, he will exclude all *churchmen*:
 “ An *orthodox* man will exclude and deprive
 “ every one that he fancies, or denominates,
 “ an *heretic*; and if once it should happen
 “ that such an *heretic* should get into pow-
 “ er, he will repay the injuries he has re-
 “ ceiv'd upon the *orthodox*: And what con-
 “ fusion, what disorder must this produce!”

I WOULD willingly put this difficulty in
 the strongest light I can; because I know
 that some very worthy gentlemen are afraid
 of some ill consequences or other from such
 a power in the magistrate. “ All actions
 “ which any ways affect the interests of so-
 “ ciety are allowed to fall under the cogni-
 “ zance of the magistrate: But *opinions*, they
 “ say, do not hurt the lives, or the liberties,
 “ or the properties of any body. And as the
 “ civil magistrate's care extends no further
 “ than to the lives, liberties and properties of
 “ his subjects, what does no harm to any of
 “ them cannot fall under his cognizance.
 “ Punish as severely as you please what *in-*
 “ *juries* any body; but let not punishments
 “ extend to what *hurts* no body: For if they
 “ *willingly* embrace the opinion, then the
 “ old maxim will recur, *volenti non fit in-*
 “ *juria*; and if they reject it, they can't be
 “ hurt by it; and consequently, where there
 “ is no *injury* done, no punishment ought
 “ to be inflicted.”

I N

IN answer to these, and all such difficulties, I must previously observe,

I. THAT they who argue thus, do, and must allow, that *arguments* and *reasons* are always urged as *motives* to *action*: And because they are proper inducements, the world is agreed in the practice of pressing all the topics that can be thought on in behalf of *morality* and *religion*; that when once the understanding is convinced, goodness of life may more probably ensue, than if men were either ignorant or misinformed. Not that there is a *certain, necessary* connection betwixt *reason* and *practice*; or that there is an absolute infallibility that a man that is convinced of any truth will do what is *right*: But the degrees of probability that a reasonable creature will follow the convictions of his mind are so many, that no pains are spared to secure this point. Now what is the use of constant inculcating the *principles* of virtue and goodness upon the minds of the people, and of shewing the connection of one truth with another, and the natural relation which truth has to right, and falsehood has to wrong, unless that we were persuaded of the probability of doing good by such methods? It is therefore a false way of reasoning to say absolutely, that opinions do no *injury* to a society. They are properly the beginnings of mischiefs to it: For a false opinion makes a false *rule of action* to him that embraces it; and a *false rule of action*, in matters which concern

concern the interests of the society, must be detrimental to it.

IT is true, that men do not always act agreeably to, or consistent with, their own *principles*. They do not act uniformly bad, nor uniformly good; but mix and confound a certain quantity of the one with the other. But this arises not from mens not following *principles*, but from their having (what is very common) contrary, nay even contradictory, notions. And hence it is, that they sometimes follow one, and sometimes another sentiment, just as the prevailing *principle* happens to be uppermost in their minds. So far therefore as you extirpate wrong notions out of them, so far you remove a rule of wrong action; and so far there is less probability of erring.

2. PRUDENCE ought to be the constant guide of rational agents; and the more likely it is that a man should vary from reason, the more care should be used to guard his wrong steps. Now as the right of self-preservation in every individual extends itself to *all* the *necessary* means to that end, it must give a man a right to take notice of an avowed design to injure him; and as soon as such a design appears, it would be the height of imprudence not to be upon the guard. Consider a civil society as one person; and by the same rules by which a private person can make an estimate of danger to himself, a state may then make a judgment of danger to itself. Or
consider

consider it as a large family; where the master has an undoubted right to take notice of the declared mischievous opinions of any servant in it: He may not only *not prefer*, but he may *discharge*, such servants, without waiting till they have executed their avowed designs. In the same manner a community, which by experience, or by the rules of prudence, perceives an enmity to itself from any man or number of men, has a right to enter into any measures which it may think necessary for its own safety.

3. *THE publishing* to the world *opinions* injurious to the state, is in truth an *action*, an *overt action*, by which an argument may with ease and with justice be formed concerning any one's future behaviour; nor can it be deemed unfair, or not equitable, to impute to any one, what he is known openly and publicly to abet and avow.

AND thus it is in fact with *us* in cases of *treason*: He that shall *publish*, or utter his *opinion*, in cases which affect the title, person, &c. of the king, is liable to the severest penalties; nor is it deem'd either prudent, or reasonable, or safe, to wait till the actions, which are the direct consequences of *traiterous opinions*, are committed, in order to bring a man to condign punishment.

AND thus in another instance: when an invasion is design'd, or attempted, common sense shews that it is reasonable to guard against the enemy, by securing such men at home

home as are known to be no friends to the state. And whence is it, or by what means are they known? Not by their having in fact committed such *actions*, for which they were liable to punishments by the laws; but from their having abetted and avowed principles from whence their enmity to the state is foreseen. And for this reason it is, that the *habeas corpus* act has been so often *suspended*; and certain persons very justly taken up and secured, without waiting till they had actually joined the enemy; (when it might have been too late to have done any good or to have prevented any evil) but purely to guard against the mischief which is foreseen from the known principles of such enemies to the public interests.

BUT it may be said, if you do not wait for *actions*, but exclude men from power, or places of influence on account of their *opinions* only; the consequence will be, that the civil magistrate will have it in his breast to exclude whom he *pleases*, under the pretence of the badness of his opinions.

I ANSWER, No. The measure of action to the magistrate is the *good*, and the *ends* of the society; and every public act ought to be reduced to that standard. As the *ends* of civil society are the security and protection of mens persons, properties, and liberties, so the *good* of it consists in the actual enjoyment of these privileges: now if any man should, *e. g.* openly avow his opinion, that the liberties of
the

the subject should be taken away, that the right of private judgment should not be allowed to any, or that men should pay a certain *fine* annually for the enjoyment of it;—such opinions affecting the very *ends* of society, and being contrary to its *good*, it would be *prudent* in the magistrate to exclude such person from any power or influence, whereby he might put his avowed principles into practice: And he would have a right to do it, because when he compares the opinions with the rule of his own actions, he would see such a disagreement, that no man could follow such sentiments without the ruin of the society.

BUT the true ground of fear is, that if the magistrate be allowed a right to judge of men from their opinions, and to exclude them from power on that account, he may judge very falsely: He may *say*, that those are enemies to the constitution, who are really its best friends: He may exclude such, as ought by no means to be excluded: And he may do it for reasons which will not stand the test of a fair examination.

No doubt this is true. But then if this method of reasoning proves any thing, it will prove that no one ought to be entrusted with *any* power at all. The magistrate, *e. g.* is entrusted with the right of executing the laws; but would you infer from hence, that because he may punish, and has the right of punishing *knaves* and *rogues*, that therefore he will mistake, and execute his powers upon
good

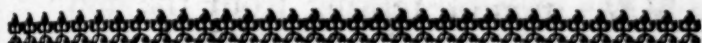
N^o 17. *The OLD WHIG.* 145

good and honest men? You must trust to his skill and ability; and if he breaks thro' the laws of nature and reason, and has no regard to the ends of his office, nor to the rules of his actions, such a state will naturally and justly ensue, as will, before 'tis finished, either totally dissolve the government, or reduce it to the laws of reason and common good again.

I am, *S I R*,

Your's, &c.

E. R.



N U M B. XVII.

To the OLD WHIG.

S I R,

THE inclosed letter pleased me much when I received it: I think it judiciously wrote. The design of it is to shew, that a man may be a real friend to truth and liberty, with a true attachment to our religious establishment. There is no doubt therefore, but it will be acceptable to all who wish well to our present establishment, and at the same time have a sincere regard to truth and liberty.

L

I F

IF you please to give it a place in your paper, you will oblige your constant reader and humble servant,

July 15. 1734.

P. 2

A LETTER from a gentleman to his friend in the country.

Dear SIR,

WHEN you first took up the resolution of retiring from the town, to attend your own affairs, and freely to indulge the reasonings and amusements of your mind; I little thought this way of life wou'd, so soon at least, have made you a mere philosopher; even so far as to forget the prejudices and interests of men, among which you so lately conversed. Surely you have shut yourself up, even from your neighbours, or you could never inquire so awkwardly as you do; *Wherein lies the virtue of always minding one's interest, following every fashion, and obeying social laws, and falling in with received opinions? And what religion is there, in professing a faith and worshipping a deity according to established forms, and the direction of weak, perhaps ignorant, and most certainly interested men?*

I own your inquiry proceeds from an abstract and just way of thinking, nothing being

being properly *virtuous* but the practice of reason; nor any faith or devotion, *true religion*, that has not God alone for its object: But then, remember and consider the interests and corruptions of men, the necessities and mistakes of government, the weakness and superstitions of honest minds, and the cheats and designs of the more cunning and knavish; and I fancy you will not wonder to see such mixtures of good and evil, right and wrong, truth and falsehood, in all societies; and when you have carefully separated and distinguished them one from another, you will plainly perceive what principles and motives each action belongs to; and by rendring honestly to *Cæsar* the things that are *Cæsar's*; and to God the things that are God's; you'll pass a more exact, I'm sure a more experienced, judgment about the different actions of men. Give me leave to offer you, in the honest maze to which your recluse thinking has brought you, a clue, that will greatly help you out, when you recollect the ways of men in which we have formerly conversed. It may, perhaps, afford us some entertainment, and some profit too. It is both pleasant and useful to solve these appearances, and to reconcile in some measure, and to account to ourselves for, the actions and principles of men. My thread is, in short, this, and no other than I have hinted at, the art of distinguishing and separating the several compounded motives and actions of men in society; to

strip them of their confused dress and pretensions, call them by their proper names, and shew them fairly to be what they really are, notwithstanding all their disguise and affectation.

To begin with your first inquiry concerning *virtue*: I think a man may be virtuous upon the strictest principles, and yet have the prudence of looking carefully to his own interest; the good nature and complaisance of offending no man unnecessarily; the peaceable disposition of paying a due respect to the laws of the society; and the moderation of a quiet maintenance of his own opinions, without a vexatious opposition to those of other peoples. Nay, you know all this may be done, even upon principles of virtue; supposing it reasonable so to do. I own, this is not the common practice. Men too generally, in these things, as well as in others, are carried away by their passions and appetites, follow the herd, yield to the vogue and fashion of the times; or, perhaps from worse motives, do any thing for their interests, tho' never so hurtful to their friends or country. But let us not jumble these men, and these principles, indiscriminately together: Give them all, and every one their due. Say there are virtuous, indolent, ignorant and vicious men mixed in society; and that it is often difficult to know and distinguish them. But however, in speculation we can separate them, and set the actions to their proper principles and

and motives. So far as a man makes reason and truth his guide and rule, so far he is certainly virtuous; and this he may constantly do, in any tolerable well-ordered society. So far as he is careless and indolent, driven away with the stream of custom; he is greatly blameable, useless, and exposed to error and mischief. So far as he is governed and directed in all his practice by common opinion, and the laws and customs in fashion; he may be honest in great ignorance, a bigot to human institutions, and a peaceable subject. So far as he is constantly devoted to his own immediate interest, passion, or inclination, without regard to truth, right, or reason; he is plainly the most vicious and dangerous enemy in society, abandon'd to unrighteousness, oppression, and every guilt. These, you see, are all very different sorts of men; and one may well imagine, that communities are generally made up of these several kinds. I own, that we may easily be deceived, in judging of those different motives and principles, from which men act; but it is plain, that a man of strict virtue, may be a very good member of society; and that a good patriot may also be a virtuous man: Which is all I wou'd contend for against your rigorous and severe speculations.

Come we now to the other branch of your inquiry, concerning *religion*. Here, I own, you have rais'd some difficulties that are not so easily got over; and yet I have

something to offer you, towards moderating your censures. I will allow you, that religion is intirely a matter of private judgment; that the will and favour of the Almighty is the sole object of it; and that therefore no human laws can possibly have any authority in this matter; nor can obedience to any such commands be in any propriety called religion. But then, will you not allow me in your turn, that the laws of society relating to religion, that is, what we know by the name of *religious establishments*, may be so wisely and moderately framed, that men may be left quiet in the possession of their own opinions, and at liberty to be truly religious upon their own principles? I foresee you will say, that these laws are, in their own nature, injurious; and that as far as they establish, or encourage, any particular religion, so far they prevent a free inquiry, and tempt men to the very thing you complain of, placing their religion in obedience to establish'd forms, and the unjust usurpations of ambitious and designing men. To all this I shall only answer, by representing to you, the fact of our religious establishment; and by shewing you how consistent it is with the practice of true religion. And tho' you will say, that all the advantage I can make of this argument, will proceed from the truth and excellency of that religion which our governors have, and perhaps you will add too by mere accident, fallen into; and that therefore, I shall not
this

this way vindicate establishments in general ; and so shall leave you all the weight of your objections ; not to mention the injuries to true religion that even this establishment may sometimes occasion, and the suspension of many of its penal laws that even now is necessary to render it tolerable ; nevertheless I will venture to represent this fact with justice, in hopes of prevailing even with your acute discernment, to allow that the practice of true religion may be consistent with all these disadvantages. The way that I shall take is, by preserving carefully those distinctions which I have before mentioned, to rank men under these characters, that the real principles and motives from whence they act intitle them to, however generally practice may disguise them. Now as we are christians, and the establishment among us is some shape of that profession, you will readily grant, that so far as our own principles are espoused by the society, so far we *may* certainly practise true religion : I say *may*, because I am aware of the charge you'll bring or suppose, of my regard herein to the establish'd law ; for this I own is not religion : But I assert, that in these things I *may* be truly religious. Thus for instance ; in such an establishment, I may be a christian and a conformist in many or most particulars : Nay, supposing the errors or corruptions of this legal religion to be few and not very great, I *may* be truly an officer in the christian church, and in this establishment too.

Thus, although no one will pretend or imagine, that an act of parliament can make a *christian* bishop, an ordained or duly appointed *christian* preacher, or any proper *christian* church or congregation; this being an absurdity in terms, since men can only act in their own jurisdiction or kingdom, and Jesus Christ has never deputed any magistracy or government to do these things in his kingdom; as it would be absurd and very ridiculous presumption for a king of *England*, or even an *English* legislature, to pretend to make and appoint officers and laws for the king and people of *Spain*: Nevertheless I do not see but in this case before-mentioned, an *establisht* bishop may also be a true *christian* bishop, or an *establisht* preacher, a good, useful, and true *christian* preacher, and an *establisht* church a real *christian* church or congregation: Not indeed consider'd as by law *establisht*; but they may have all the qualifications and circumstances which the christian religion requires, consistent with these legal appointments. You see, I all along suppose, that these establishments of Jesus Christ, and the civil government, do not interfere; where they do, my argument has no force. And this, I own, may often be the case, by disagreements, contentious impositions, and worldly superiorities and dependences. And no wonder, when men act in a sphere they are not qualify'd for, and are led or driven in it by their several passions and interests; usurping the authority of other
lords

lords and other kingdoms; and trampling upon the rights of conscience, and the liberties of their fellow-creatures. All that I contend for is, the practicableness of true religion, and the christian faith, under so mild a religious establishment as ours is. I am not, after all, pleading for any laws in general for the support of religion. On the contrary, I freely come into your principle, that however a man may conform to what is just and laudable in an establishment, it is his duty as a moral agent, and a faithful christian, to protest against all usurpations of the rights of conscience, and in every proper way to signify this his protest, and to stand fast in that liberty which God and nature have established.

ALL therefore that I have further to say upon this subject is, that since the motives, principles, and characters of men are to be thus distinguish'd, every man ought to examine and consider his own conduct, that he may not however deceive *himself*, and fancy a character belongs to *him* which he has no sort of title to. In such a mixture, I may say medley, of pretences to authority, interests and designs, as most governments are, and indeed must be, while men do neither consider the grounds, foundation and ends of government, nor what are the proper subjects of authority; and are ever stretching their dominions and powers as far as they are able, not only over the rights of their fellow-creatures,

creatures, but even into the jurisdictions of other sovereigns and other kingdoms; in such a state of things, I say, it will be impossible to guess at other mens principles and views. Here is infinite room for disguise and deceit of all sorts: But surely by a little honest inquiry, we may know our own motives and intentions; and whether particularly, as you inquire, *we* are virtuous or vicious, religious or prophane: Or to be yet more particular, whether we are christians or mahometans, *christian* bishops and preachers, or mere *state*-officers and declaimers, and the like. All that one would wish or desire of an honest man in this case is, that he would act faithfully and consistently in the character he assumes, and in the pretensions that he makes; that he would not call things by false names, and the same things by different names, or distinct things by the same name, to serve a turn of craft, interest, and ambition. Let not *civil* obedience, as such, be called *virtue*; an *establish'd* faith and worship, as such, *christian* faith and worship; a *legal* bishop, preacher or member of an establish'd church, *therefore* and upon *that account*, a *christian* bishop, preacher or member of *Christ's* church: But let each be considered in their proper place and views; and let every man maintain by his actions and behaviour the real character he would bear and be known by: Let all christians, whatever be their office or place in the christian society, act as becomes

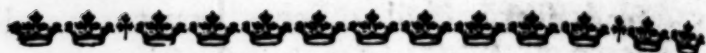
comes that excellent character in every part of life; and every civil officer, governor and subject act faithfully in their respective places. Let not religious faith, or superstitious zeal cover worldly and unrighteous designs; much less let ambition and policies of state be professedly carried on by pretences of religion; and a seeming concern for the glory of God, to the destruction of all virtue and true religion, and the rights, liberties, lives and properties of men.

THIS, Sir, is all I have to offer you at present about your inquiries. I hope you will not think that I have, in any policy, departed from those old principles of honesty and truth that we used to hold sacred: And that you'll be a little more candid and charitable, to your friends at least, that still continue in the ways of men, and the business and engagements of the world. However, I have said all I can to represent their conduct in the best manner; and hope you will allow we may retain our virtue and religion too under so happy a government and administration as this now is: At least, believe that I have integrity enough left to be sincerely

Your affectionate humble servant,

A. Z.

NUMB.



N U M B. XVIII.

To the OLD WHIG.

*Magistratus officium est, opera & disciplina
consequi voluntatem senatus.*

CIC. ad Heren. lib. 4.

S I R,

I FIND my sentiments of the *natural right* of mankind to a freedom of private judgment, uncontrollable by society, and exempt from all civil penalties, have given great offence to some ; created doubts in others ; and have convinced, or been agreed to by, a few. I can attribute the different reception they have found, to no other causes, than the different degrees of attention which they met with ; or the prejudices which the readers laboured under. I should think the novelty of a truth would secure the attention of the reader ; tho' its importance is the only excuse for the writer. But if gentlemen are too indolent to attend, I would by no means interrupt their reveries ; I only beg they would consider, how great a fatigue it is to defend, or attack, an argument

ment before it is understood ; 'tis fighting naked, and blindfold, against an enemy that sees and is arm'd.

THE prejudices which men labour under ought to be considered with more seriousness; as they are the greatest objects of compassion, greatly troublesome, and difficult to be cured. When a falshood has got established in the mind as a fundamental truth, systems are built upon it, and great care and attention is required to discover and eradicate it.

THE most dangerous and deplorable prejudice is, what we commonly call, *dishonesty*; which is indeed nothing else, but the taking for granted, that any thing may be said or done, or unsaid or undone, which will serve the present purpose. When this prejudice is visible in an author, he ought not to be argued with, but admonish'd: All therefore I have to say to the *Miscellanist* is, —
BE HONEST.

BUT, Sir, in your paper of the 26th of June, I find an opponent, who demands the utmost attention and respect; and it would be with sorrow that I should differ with the author who signs himself *E. R.* in whom I see a zealous and most judicious writer in the cause of liberty; did I not seek truth rather than victory.

My assertion, which occasions our present controversy is, that no *opinions* whatsoever, can be reasonably the object of law, or cognizable, that is, punishable, by society.

ONLY

ONLY that *they* ought to be considered by the individuals in the choice of the *legislature*.

THE first I proved, by shewing that society is not affected by *opinions*, but by *actions*. These, *i. e.* actions, I endeavoured to shew were the proper objects of laws, and sufficiently controulable by the legislature; as being the majority of the people, and consequently the strongest. The latter I proved, by considering the nature of *legislative power*; which is no other, than the power of signifying the opinion of the individuals or constituents: Now it is unreasonable to suppose that this would be done by persons differing from their constituents in opinion, and would be difficult to be enforced.

THE author, who calls himself *E. R.* says, if *actions* are cognizable, the *principles* of action are so; meaning *opinions*. I answer, the will is the principle of action, opinion a motive only, as likewise are affections and appetites.

THE *action* is cognizable, because it, and its consequences, can be certainly known; the *opinion* or *motive* not; because neither it, nor its consequences, can be certainly known.

THE *action* is certainly beneficial or prejudicial; the *motive* neither beneficial nor prejudicial; but it's influence and effect uncertain.

OR

OR to be more intelligible: 'Tis in the power of every person to act *against* his opinion, or any other motive, in obedience to the laws of society; and if he does so, he is, to all intents and purposes, as good a member of society; (has an equal right to all common protection and profit) as he who acts *in conformity* to his opinion, or any other motive.

I MEAN by opinion, divulged opinion; for I agree with the author, that all other opinions are out of the present question.

OUR author says, that several *opinions* are, as to society, indifferent; that is, they are motives neither to good nor evil. This I take to be a mere assertion of what 'tis impossible he should have any knowledge. I won't assert the contrary to be true; tho' I think it highly probable, that all truth may be useful to the beings who have a capacity of perceiving it; as a motive to rectitude of action, *i. e.* to actions agreeable to the order and fitness of things; and consequently the mistaking any such truth, may be a motive to the contrary.

BUT I certainly agree, that where mistakes are apparently of ill consequence to the commonwealth, it is highly reasonable to guard against their influence; which I before said was to be done, by annexing proper punishments and discouragements to the *actions* which such opinions may excite. And I think all persons (let them avow what opinions

nions they please) should be equally incapacitated to do mischief to the public; which is to be done only by vesting no power in any person, which is not necessary for the execution of the law; or which he is not accountable to society for the use of.

BUT I can by no means be for cutting off a man's hand, because he thinks he ought to make a use of it which I don't approve of; or punishing offences before they are committed.

TAKING away a share in the profits or conveniences arising from society, from any member of the society, who has not by any offence forfeited that share, is as manifestly unjust, as the taking away his private property, or his life.

THE exerting our *natural rights* can never be an offence against society. Their preservation is the only reasonable end of forming or entering into society; and the giving up or betraying any of them, is so far from being a duty we owe society, or a condition of entering into it, that it would be the greatest injury to it, and tend to it's total subversion and destruction.

NOR can I see a reason why it should not be equally supposed, that it is in our power to give up *all* our natural rights as *any* of them: Which, tho' it is almost an absurdity in terms, has indeed been asserted when the doctrines of arbitrary power were in fashion.

NOR

NOR can I help thinking the rights of judging for ourselves, and publishing our opinions, to be natural and unalienable to every being who has the powers of reflection and speech.

I MUST here caution the reader not to carry my assertions farther than they go. *Threats* and conspiracies differ from *opinions*. And wherever action is joined to opinion, the *action* must be taken into consideration.

BUT to return. If disqualifications or other penalties, on account of opinions; are *unjust* in themselves; 'tis in vain to mention what the wisdom of nations, or the discretion of private persons, may determine with regard to them: tho' I won't scruple to assert, that injustice is always folly, either in a public or private capacity.

BUT as for the law, our author cites, relating to the settlement of the crown; he must either assert, that the king is no part of the *legislature*, or admit his instance to be foreign from our controversy.

AND as for the other instance, of a tutor to a daughter, who should publish it to be his opinion, that there was no obligation to chastity; this gentleman must either have forgot, that I mention'd ability and integrity as qualifications for office: or, he must suppose a man, able to instruct and educate a lady in the principles of virtue, who knows not the obligations to chastity. This instance there-

M

fore

fore must also be admitted not to affect the point we are debating.

AND to the rest of his instances, I shall answer, that if I was arm'd with sufficient power to punish any *offence* against my peace or property, I should be mighty easy about the *opinions* of those I intrusted.

I MUST farther observe, that *an experienced integrity* being one of the requisites I suppose necessary for office, how will he reconcile the acceptation of offices with an intent to betray the confidence reposed, with such an integrity? And further I would ask, what *natural right* has any person to be tutor of my daughter, receiver or keeper of my money to be; my executor, or trustee?

I THINK it unnecessary to give any answer to the question put by this excellent writer; whether will I trust one whose wickedness I know before hand? because here his preceding *actions* should put me on my guard. Nor do I think it needful to consider at large the suppositions he makes of intervening chances to frustrate laws.

I WILL only beg leave to observe, that it is doubtless a defect where laws don't enforce an immediate execution of them. As the sacred writer observes, *Because the sentence against an evil work is not executed speedily, therefore the hearts of the children of men are fully set in them to do evil.* But *thine* ours, and all human laws are defective, and can't be supposed to prevent all iniquity; yet

they are from time to time capable of being amended, and enforced; as their deficiencies, or the methods of evading them, are found out: which is to be done by fixing penalties on injustice, not by making iniquity law.

I SHALL conclude with observing, that if we argue from *equity*; it must be shew'd us, either that the maintaining our opinions, that is, our enjoying and publishing them, is not a natural right; or that our natural rights are given up by a social contract, or by our entrance into society: either of which I believe, will be very difficult to be shewn, when we consider the ends of society; which are only adjudication and defence.

OR if we are to argue from *convenience*, it must be shewn, that experience (which is the best proof of convenience) has found, that less evil and inconvenience has happen'd from persecuting men for opinions (as for instance, burning heretics, &c.) than from leaving them in the quiet possession of them. I am,

S I R,

Yours,

July 22, 1735.

LAICUS.



N U M B. XIX.

Cujusvis hominis est errare; nullius, nisi insipientis, in errore perseverare. CIC.

WHEN a man sits down, and reflects coolly on the state of *religion* throughout the world, he can't help being surpriz'd at the deplorable ignorance, and wild frantic superstition, of the bulk of mankind. If he considers the capacities of mind, and the rational powers with which they are endued, he will justly expect to find such sentiments prevailing among them, as seem to be the result of some *thought* and *inquiry*, and have the *appearance* at least, of discretion and ingenuity: But let him, on the other hand, examine their religious principles, in which there are, frequently, no faint and distant traces of *judgment* and *deliberation*, nor, sometimes, of *common sense*, and the first question he will be apt to ask himself will be this, — *What is become of their reason?*

IN truth, the world to a philosophical view, looks like a great *mad-house*, where, tho' the distemper be almost universal, it is likewise various; and some of the strongest and most unaccountable fits are of the *religious* kind. With respect to subjects of this nature, the under-

N^o 19. *The OLD WHIG.* 165

understandings of men are most miserably *shatter'd* and *disorder'd*; they talk *incoherently* and *wildly*, without reason or connection; are *furious* and *raving*, and commit the most shocking extravagancies: or their minds are overspread by a sullen dismal *gloom*, or distracted and tortur'd by the horrors of *despair*: In short, they mistake themselves, and confound the plain nature of things, in as absurd and gross manner, as a *mechanic* that fancies himself an *emperor*, and takes his *cell* to be a *palace*. Hence it arises, that *posture-making*, and *ceremoniousness*, and ridiculous unavailing *penances*, and a blind injurious *zeal* that tramples on the immutable obligations of equity and humanity, usurp the sacred and amiable name of religion; that treason, murder, and breach of faith, have been consecrated as acts of *devotion* to God, and an acceptable method of serving him; that unintelligible sounds, which convey no *ideas*, and consequently afford no *instruction*, are stil'd religious *doctrines*; and that these same incomprehensible inexplicable doctrines, which *teach nothing*, and make no *discoveries*, are stil'd a *revelation*: And to sum up all in one word, from hence it arises, that the senseless, idolatrous, and immoral scheme of *Popish superstition* is represented, and publicly profess'd, as *true christianity*. Had it been said, that 'tis *beathenism* reviv'd and called by a new name, a fair inquirer might have thought that there was some justness and propriety in

the representation: But christianity is infinitely dishonour'd, and quite defac'd by it; and the whole *contexture, propagation, and support*, of this vile imposture are directly, and most notoriously, repugnant to the wisdom, purity, moderation, and the mild and merciful spirit of the gospel.

WE have been alarm'd of late, from all quarters, with frightful apprehensions of the increase of *Popery*: And a *heavier curse*, surely, can never light on these thrice happy and envied nations, than to be reduc'd once more under the antichristian tyranny of *Rome*; whose empire is founded in *arbitrary imposition and violence*, and maintained by *perfidiousness and cruelty*. But I would entertain a better opinion of the *understandings* of my fellow-subjects, of their *morality*, of their *public-spiritedness* and *love of their country*, than to suspect that they will easily suffer themselves to be perverted to such an *unreasonable and barbarous* superstition, as will take away the use of their very *senses*; and deprive them of the two most valuable blessings of life, to an ingenuous mind, their *religion* and their *liberties*. However, while we are upon our guard against so fatal a change, and thinking of it with a becoming resentment and detestation, it behoves us to be strictly careful, that we don't *expose* and *betray* our own interest by unguarded concessions; nor advance any positions, in the lesser debates and *skirmishes* that may happen among

mong ourselves, which will serve to defeat us in our *grand engagement*.

I WAS led to these reflections by a remarkable passage of a noted writer, and indefatigable dealer in *controversy*; who has argu'd in behalf of a favourite point, on which he seems to have exhausted all his learning and subtilty, from such principles, as, if true, will effectually vindicate the most absurd doctrines that were ever deduc'd from the *letter* of scripture, by *Papists*, or any other sect of christians. The writer whom I mean, is the *acute* and *learned* Dr. *Waterland*; and I beg leave to make an experiment, how his manner of reasoning about the *trinity* will serve to defend *transubstantiation*. The doctrine of the trinity itself, I don't pretend to meddle with; nor is it the point I have in view, to compare it with the *Popish* doctrine of transubstantiation, as if they were both upon a level: But only to shew how far warm disputants are apt to *overshoot* themselves; and, in particular, what advantage they give the enemies of the *Protestant* cause, by not maintaining, *consistently* and *universally*, the genuine principles of *Protestants*; by recommending a blind credulity; and insisting, as the learned doctor has done, on the necessity of sticking close to the *literal* sense of words, without regarding the *reason* and *natural possibilities* of things.

TRANSUBSTANTIATION has the *letter* of scripture on its side; but the *Protestant*

contends that it cannot be the *meaning* of scripture, because it contradicts his *senses*, is repugnant to the plainest dictates of *reason*, and involves in it several *contradictions*; upon all which accounts it is *impossible* it should be *true*. Now to this, which is the *main strength* and *substance* of the argument on our side, Dr. *Waterland* has furnish'd the *Roman-catholic* with an admirable answer: He has taught him in what manner to appeal to the world, and silence his adversaries: He has put into his mouth the following speech, which we will suppose to be address'd to those same *English Protestants*, for whose establishment in the belief of the trinity, the Doctor wrote his *Importance*; — "Gentlemen,
 " pray attend seriously to what I have now to
 " propose to you, in the style and spirit of reason-
 " ing, made use of by one of your own most
 " shrewd and deep divines: Be but ingenuous,
 " and divest yourselves of bigotry and prejudice,
 " and you will soon be convinced that you are in a
 " gross and dangerous error, — For the proofs
 " which we insist upon [in our defence of
 " transubstantiation] can't be evaded by any
 " approved rules of language or criticism;
 " but the last resort of our opposers com-
 " monly is to some *philosophical principle*,
 " [mark that] some pretended reason, drawn
 " from the supposed nature of the thing, rather than from the scripture style, or from
 " the force of scripture expressions. [Such
 " has

“ has been the method of eluding *Matth.*
 “ xxvi. 26 --- 28. *Jo.* vi. 53. which are full
 “ and exprefs as poffible, for the real con-
 “ version of the bread and wine into the *body*
 “ and *blood* of our lord; thefe texts, I fay,
 “ are eluded upon this principle, that the
 “ fame body could not be *broken* and *unbroken*
 “ at the fame time, and can’t be in *feveral*
 “ places at once, or by fomething elfe of like
 “ kind: *] which is running off from the
 “ question about the *fpiritual-proof* of the
 “ doctrine, to [pray take notice] the NATU-
 “ RAL POSSIBILITY of the thing; and is not
 “ fubmitting to the obvious and apparent
 “ fenfe of *faced writ*, but is tantamount to
 “ faying, that no fcriptures can prove it:
 “ An evasion which might equally ferve for
 “ any texts whatever, were they ever fo nu-
 “ merous, plain, and exprefs. This kind of
 “ conduct, on the oppofite fide, manifeftly
 “ fhews how hard they are prefs’d upon the
 “ foot of *fpiture*; when, in the laft refult,
 “ they remove the caufe from *fpiture* to

* *The Doctor’s words, from which I have been obliged to vary a little to make them fuit the doctrine of tranfubftantiation, are thefe: ‘ I have obferv’d elfewhere, that fuch has been the method of eluding, Jo. i. i. and feveral other texts, which are full and exprefs as poffible, for the real and proper divinity of our lord: They are eluded, I fay, upon this principle, that perfon and intelligent being, are equivalent and reciprocal; or that there can be no medium between tritheifm and fabellianifm, or by fomething elfe of like kind.’*

“ *philo-*

“ *philosophy*, from considerations of *language*,
 “ and *style*, and *propriety* of expression, to a
 “ FOREIGN consideration, the RATIONALE
 “ of the thing. This, Gentlemen, is a plain
 “ token that the LETTER is against them;
 “ only, they take the *reason* of the *thing* to
 “ plead so much in their favour, that it ought
 “ to over-rule any force of expression. So
 “ that they lay the main stress upon *metaphy-*
 “ *sical* subtleties, that is to say, upon *human*
 “ conjectures about things naturally *unsearch-*
 “ *able*, in opposition to the express declara-
 “ tions of the word of God: Which, by the
 “ way, is first setting up a *false measure* of
 “ truth; and, next, is making a *new rule* of
 “ faith.” See *the importance of the doctrine*
of the holy trinity asserted, p. 32, 33.

How the learned Dr. *W.* himself will e-
 lude the force of this *Popish* argument, I am
 at a loss to determine; but I would willingly
 persuade myself, that every disinterested *Pro-*
testant, when he sees the tendency of such kind
 of reasoning, will be *ingenuous* enough to dis-
 claim it; and not, thro’ *stiffness*, *pride*, or *false*
shame, obstinately persist in maintaining a prin-
 ciple that destroys the difference between truth
 and falsehood, to the reproach of his own *under-*
standing, and the discredit of *christianity*.
 The *natural possibility* of the *thing* is, in eve-
 ry case, a necessary standard and *rule of truth*:
 For if that may be true, which, in the na-
 ture of the *thing itself*, is *impossible*, the most
 glaring contradictions may be true; — it
 may

may be true, that *God does not exist*; — that *I myself do not exist*; — and nothing can be proved to be *false*. In like manner, the *rationale* of the *thing* is so far from being a *foreign* consideration, that it is the chief point to be considered in every argument; and the representing faith and reason as *repugnant* and *inconsistent* principles, is the root of unavoidable and infinite error. Here then let us fix our *ground-work*, and the foundation of all our future inquiries: That all divine revelation is, and *cannot but be*, a *reasonable* scheme of doctrines and precepts; that *unreasonable doctrines* are not fit to be believ'd, nor *unreasonable duties* fit to be practised; or, in other words, that the one cannot be believed, nor the other practised, while they appear to be *unreasonable*, till mankind *have lost their senses*. — These things we are obliged, as *christians*, and as *Protestants*, to acknowledge: Unless we think it expedient to declare openly, that our opposition to the church of *Rome* is entirely the effect of *resentment*, and *humour*; and that *christianity itself* is a disgrace to human nature; a disparagement to its superiour faculties; and has no better foundation than *ignorance*, and *enthusiasm*.





N U M B. XX.

Est in animis omnium fere natura molle quiddam, demissum, humile, enervatum quodammodo, et languidum, senile. Si nihil aliud, nihil esset homine deformius. Sed præsto est domina omnium, et regina ratio, quæ connixa per se, et progressa longius, fit perfecta virtus.

CIC. Tusc. quaest.

Profecto ita est, ut id habendum sit antiquissimum, et Deo proximum, quod sit OPTIMUM.

CIC. de legib.

EVERY writer, who intends the instruction and advantage of his readers, should study the *weak side* of human nature, trace out the general springs and causes of error, and carefully inform himself what are the *principal* and most *prevailing* prejudices, by which the judgments of men are blinded and enslav'd. Till these are remov'd, or at least soften'd, so as to become more *pliant* and *flexible*, truth can find no access to the mind, which is *impreguably* fortify'd against the strongest efforts of reason. And nothing has been found by experience, to have a more universal and fatal influence, in preventing reflection

fection and ingenuous free inquiries, than the popular *reproach* and *odium* that attends particular opinions; when they are condemn'd by the *current scandal* of the times, and the abettors of them traduc'd, and represented as infamous, by *custom* or *public authority*. The *glare* of great names *dazzles* the understanding; the imagin'd dignity and sacredness of characters *awes* it into submission; and custom is revered as an ORACLE: To which it is owing, that the generous endeavours of wise and good men to rectify *established*, or *epidemical*, errors are seldom, in any considerable degree, successful; that an *entire* reformation is scarce possible to be effected *all at once*; and that 'tis exceedingly difficult to *revive* the same useful design afterwards, to improve upon the *first scheme* however rude and *imperfect*, and ripen it to a due *maturity*.

THE *miscbiievous consequences*, therefore, of the *prejudice* which I am now considering, are sufficiently obvious, and need no further illustration. And the *weakness* of it appears plainly from hence, that there never was any age of the *world*, nor any period of *church-history*, in which all attempts to enlighten mens minds, and reform what was absurd or dangerous in their religious sentiments, were not opposed by torrents of *calumny*, and exclaim'd against with the utmost *rudeness* and *virulence*. *Harsh* and *opprobrious names* are as easily, and have been as frequently, bestowed

stow'd on truth as falshood; of this the ex-
 amples are endless; and give me leave to say,
 that there is one instance at least, which, in
 a christian country, must be allow'd to be
 uncontestable: For what was the fate that
christianity itself met with, when it was first
 published by our saviour, and his apostles?
 — We must all know, surely, that this ex-
 cellent scheme, which is so admirably adapted
 to inspire mankind with a just sense of vir-
 tue, and lead them to true happiness, because
 it corrected superstitious abuses, and contra-
 dicted establish'd forms of idolatry, was re-
 jected with *indignity* and *contempt* both a-
 mong *Jews* and *Gentiles*. The world ran
 mad, because they were taught a *manly* re-
 ligion, a religion of *reason* and *benevolence*,
 free from outward *pomp* and *ostentation*. *Phi-*
losophy, which delighted in abstruse and sub-
 tile disquisitions, condemn'd it as too *simple*
 and *artless*; PRIESTS thunder'd out their
 anathemas against the preachers of such *no-*
velties; and the *civil powers* persecuted and
 oppress'd them. So that the most necessary
 attempt for a reformation that was ever made,
 when the circumstances of the world, in a
 state of universal depravity, call'd loudly for
 it, to revive the religion of nature which was
 in a manner quite defac'd, and extirpate rank
ignorance and *enthusiasm*; I say, this most ne-
 cessary attempt for a reformation was bitterly
 rail'd at, resented and punish'd as a public
 disturbance, rais'd with a design to alter the
 laws

laws of particular countries, and overturn both the *civil* and *ecclesiastical* constitution.

It has, indeed, been the *common artifice*, in all ages, to distinguish, by titles of *infamy*, or titles that raise *horrid ideas* in the minds of the vulgar, all who have try'd to introduce either more of *sense* and *consistency* into the public opinions, or of *simplicity* and *rational devotion* into the outward solemnities of worship. In *OLD TIMES* a man could not endeavour to expose the wildest parts of heathen idolatry, without being represented as a *blasphemer*, and an irreligious contemner of the Gods. He that argued against any of their sacred rites, however indecent, and shocking to modesty and common sense, was a man of a *factious turbulent* spirit, and a fomentor of *sedition*. — Pretences of *reformation*, and *designs* against the *state*, were confounded and jumbled together, as if they had a necessary connection; — and recommending more worthy and honourable notions of the deity, and juster sentiments of religion, was an undeniable proof of *impiety*. And *LATTER AGES* have, in this respect, taken care to *copy strictly* after the example of their forefathers: For the explaining any doctrine of revelation, differently from what the *COMMON STANDARD* allows, seldom fails to fix the brand of *infidelity*, or *heresy*; both which terms, in *ecclesiastical style*, signify no more, than the not believing what the party, who call themselves the church, have thought fit
to

to prescribe and impose; and taking the liberty, which reason allows, and revelation confirms to us, of differing from *fallible* expositions of scripture, and creeds and canons of *human* institution. Though nothing can be more absurd than the *promiscuous* use of such names of ignominy by all sects at variance with each other, yet, being of a *frightful* sound, they have a kind of *magical* operation on the minds of the people; creating a superstitious *panic*, that restrains them even from examining the *obnoxious* opinions to which they are annex'd; and often times working up their tempers to an ungovernable pitch of raging zeal against all that embrace them.

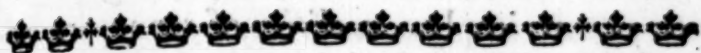
IF we inquire into the causes whence it proceeds, that all principles contrary to the public faith, be they ever so wise and rational, are strenuously opposed, and represented under the most reproachful characters, we shall find them to be various. — There are some who have a particular *interest* in all corruptions of religion. They partake, perhaps, of the *emoluments* arising from impositions on conscience, from pompous and extravagant ceremonies, from the *arcana fidei*, where mere words, containing an unfathomable mystic sense, are held out to the people, to humble and *debase* their understandings; and this has a natural tendency to make them tenacious of such doctrines as are calculated to discredit *reason*, and more effectually to *enslave* their deluded votaries. I would suggest no instances that
are

are invidious, and therefore shall only say, that this is evidently the case in the *Romish* church, where no alteration must be suffered, for fear the people should suspect that they have been imposed upon; and, being prompted by an impertinent spirit of *curiosity*, find out *more errors* in the constitution. — Again, the natural pride of men makes them ashamed to acknowledge their mistakes, and think it a sort of reflection on their understandings; and, therefore, lest the *correctness* and *soundness*, 'tis scarce decent in a *Protestant* country to say the *infallibility*, of their judgment should be called in question, they appeal from *reason* to the *passions*; and use all their art and interest to disgrace opinions that are contrary to their own. Add to this, that prejudices of *education* are deeply rooted in mankind, and *religious* prejudices, of all others, the most stiff and untractable. With the generality, opinions and rites which can plead *antient prescription*, and *public countenance*, acquire an awfulness that renders them inviolable: So that they look upon the *whole*, of what they have been taught to call religion, as *equally* sacred; and if any one endeavours only to separate the *base alloy* from the *purser* parts, that really deserve the name of religion, they are immediately alarm'd, and make strange outcries, as if christianity, and all the obligations of virtue, were undermin'd. But exclamations of this sort, however solemn and pathetic, ought not generally to be look'd
N upon

upon as dictates of *reason*, and founded on the truth of things; but as the affectation, craft, insolence, and intemperance of *party zeal*.

FROM the premises now laid down, this inference is natural and unavoidable; that no speculative principles are therefore false, or ought to be rejected by us, because they have the misfortune to be *decried* and *vilified*; and those who maintain them are painted in *hideous* colours, to expose them to the contempt and resentment of the multitude: For there was a time, when CHRISTIANS THEMSELVES were a *sect every where spoken against*. And from hence it follows, that we have no *reason* to be discourag'd from proceeding in our honest and fair inquiries, for fear of espousing what are stil'd *new doctrines*: For the unity of God, which is an *eternal* truth, appear'd, to the *Gentile* world, to be a *new doctrine*, in comparison of their own superstition. And tho' true christianity existed before there could be any corruptions of it; or, in other words, is of greater *antiquity* than false and adulterate christianity; yet, be it truth or error that has been long in possession, all attempts to amend the state of religion must have the appearance of *novelty*. — Let us therefore always remember, that what the world calls pestilent, or damnable, *heresy*, may be SCRIPTURE-ORTHODOXY; and that, which in the opinion of conceited and forward bigots is departing from the faith, and a dangerous *innovation*,
may

be the pure and OLD RELIGION of the
BIBLE.



N U M B. XXI.

Plus aloes quam mellis habet.

JUVEN.

THERE is nothing which will more certainly expose a man to *ridicule*, than a character and conduct made up of *inconsistencies* and contradictions. He who professes principles that are in their nature directly opposite to, and subversive of each other, will always lie open to just and severe censure. The *coalition of parties* seems indeed a thing capable of being effected. Interest or conviction may cause men to lay aside their *peculiar* differences, and may make them unite in some *common* maxims and designs. But principles are invariable; and as truth and falsehood, liberty and slavery, true *Whiggism* and staunch *Toryism* are necessarily and immutably different, and quite irreconcilable with each other; it is impossible *they* can ever *coalesce*, or be brought into a real union and friendship. As no man can be a true friend to liberty, who is for any scheme of persecution or slavery, it is impossible the distinc-

tion which some gentlemen have lately seem'd very fond of, *viz. of being Tories in the church, and Whigs in the state*, can have any foundation in reason, or the nature of things. The very terms imply a *coalition* of repugnant and *self-destructive* principles. It is a *motly* unnatural *mixture* of character; and all pretences to it must arise, either from a *want of capacity* to discern between truth and falsehood; or from an *indifference* to all principles, and a consequent *readiness* to espouse or profess any that will best serve and forward the views of ambition and interest.

A *Tory in the church* hath such peculiar *discriminating* marks, as that no attentive considerate person can easily mistake him. He is for setting up the *church* above the *crown*, and rendering it independent on the civil government; he is “ for such an exercise of *church discipline*, as shall not be subject to *prohibitions* from the courts of *common law*, or be rendered *ineffectual* by *pardons* from the crown, or by *acts of grace*; “ for making the clergy the sole *ultimate judges* on appeals in all ecclesiastical causes; “ and for lodging in them the whole *prudent administration* of all affairs, which “ concern spiritual persons or things; for “ having them judges about the laws to be “ made concerning religion, and the interest “ of the church; for having the *convocation* “ form'd into a *legislature*; and all suggestions “ for the improvement of the ecclesiastical

‘astical constitution, and the amendment of
 “all laws in being, as far as concerns the
 “church, *reserved*, to be made the subject
 “of *synodical inquiries*. He is, farther, for
 “bringing into the hands of the clergy the
 “*correction of vice*; and, in the exercise of
 “*church discipline*, he is for proceeding by
 “the wholesome method of *canonical pur-*
 “*gation*; and for calling in *temporal penal-*
 “*ties*, in subserviency to the *ends of religion*,
 “as often as the *censures* of the church are
 “disobey’d.”

THESE are the authentic *principles* of
 a church Tory, that have been openly espoused,
 and propagated, and recommended to the
 nation by great names and authorities: And,
 in a late memorable instance, endeavours were
 not wanting to reduce them, in part at least,
 into *practice*. Principles, which plainly strike
 at the honour and dignity of the *crown*; that
 weaken the force of all civil government; and
 render the magistrate the *mere tool* of the church
 and clergy; that are subversive of the most
 valuable liberties and rights of the christian
 people; and which, whenever they prevail
 in their full consequences, must introduce a
 state of the most deplorable and abject slavery.
 Should men, in such a tyrannical and arbi-
 trary scheme as this, be advanced themselves
 to the *highest dignities* of the church, have the
direction and disposal of *church-preferments*,
 have the ear of princes, become the *confidants*
 of prime ministers, and directors in the great

affairs of church and state; what can the friends of liberty expect, yea, what have they not to fear from their influence and counsels?

WITH what truth or grace can gentlemen of this *completion* pretend to rank themselves amongst the *friends of liberty*? or assume to themselves the name of *Whigs in the state*? What single principle of genuine *Whiggism* do they maintain? Is there a *consistent Whig* in the kingdom, who is for sacrificing the dignity, or any of the prerogatives, of the *crown*, to the pleasure of haughty *ecclesiastics*? That is for exempting *church judicatories* and *spiritual courts* from all controul from the *courts of common law*? That is for giving a *legislative* power to the *convocation*? That is for condemning the subject to spiritual censures, and the infamy of *canonical purgation*, without the possibility of a *pardon* from the crown, or the benefit of an *act of grace*? That is for allowing the clergy to be both *judges and juries* in all causes which they will call spiritual? That is for trusting them with the power of *making laws* about what they will call religion; or for empowering them *to oblige the magistrate* to come in with his temporal penalties, in aid of their church censures, when they shall think fit to require it?

No: such maxims as these are the abhorrence of every wise and *honest Whig*; and the pretences of such, who espouse them, to *state Whiggism*, are ridiculous in their nature, can have

have no truth or sincerity to support them ; and, I am afraid, are generally made only with a view, the more effectually to *undermine* and destroy the cause of liberty. The eyes of men are so far opened, that the direct *avowal* of tyranny in church or state, would render a person universally *obnoxious*, and put almost all persons upon their guard against him, as a professed enemy to true religion and liberty. And therefore to carry on the scheme of *church Toryism*, without the fears and trouble of opposition, the mask of *state Whiggism*, and moderation, is put on ; a concern to punish vice, and aid religion, and to preserve spiritual affairs from the impurity of all *lay mixture*, are prudently and *piously* pretended ; and above all, a warm concern for the *Protestant succession*, and a jealousy of weakening or endangering it, by discontenting the clergy, or giving them any occasion for their exciting *popular* noise or clamour.

BUT surely every wise man must see thro' this thin disguise. The attempt to render the church independent of the crown in a single article is insolence, and the highest presumption : It is an invasion of the royal prerogative and power : It is an open denial of his majesty's supremacy, which all the clergy do, in the most solemn manner, in civil courts, and in the solemnities of public worship, frequently acknowledge. Is there a nobler jewel that *adorns* the crown ? Is there any thing

that renders *majesty* more *sacred* and amiable, than the conferring of *pardons*, and concurring in *acts of grace*? And yet the *church Tory* would rob the crown of this glorious prerogative, and *wishes* the church might *not be pestered with prohibitions* from the courts of common law, nor *have her proceedings staid*, or *her censures rendered ineffectual*, by *pardons from the crown*, or by *acts of grace*; i. e. she wants to exercise a tyranny, which the laws of God condemn, and the royal power itself shall not be able to controul. But are these the friends of *majesty*? These the supporters of the dignity of the *British crown*? Was this golden and *wished for* age to return upon us, what security could be given us, that the crown should not be insulted? That there would be no new *Beckets*, *Lauds*, *Sacheverells*, and *Atterburies* arise, to defy the royal power, to blow the trumpet of sedition amongst the people, and to practise open and secret treason against our king?

NOR are these principles of *church Toryism* in the least more favourable to the liberties of the people, than they are to the prerogative of the crown, and the rights of civil government. Let us suppose the correction of vice, and spiritual irregularities to be *wholly reserved* to the clergy as their proper province; that they have power to call in the *aid of temporal penalties*, as oft as the censures of the church are disobey'd; and to proceed in the exercise of their discipline, with-

out

out prohibitions or *pardons from the crown*; that *the convocation* was turned into a *legislature*, and had a power of making laws concerning religion, and the interest of the church, and that synodical canons were to be equally binding with acts of parliament: Was this the state of things, doth not every *Englishman* and *Protestant* see, and tremble at, the fatal consequence? In such a situation, what would be reserved for the cognizance of the civil magistrate? What, that the clergy would not bring before themselves under the notion of *spiritual irregularities*? What penalties would they not call in to *aid* their censures, and punish disobedience to them? Not to mention penalties of an inferior kind, the act *de hæretico comburendo*, was of their procurement; by which they have destroy'd thousands of the best of christians, without any bowels or relentings of mercy. Or if the exercise of their discipline should not extend so far as life, would our nobility and gentry be pleased with the gentler severities of a *canonical purgation*, and passively yield to the shame and reproach of such an accursed method of avoiding death? How decent, how affecting, how truly *edifying* a sight would it be, to see persons of the first rank and families appear with their *compurgators* before their reverend superiors; or for want of them, condemn'd to jail, forfeiture of estates, corporal penalties, or to walk in their *trousers*, bare-foot and bare-headed, and other parts

parts of the *penitential habits*, to the terror of wise men, and the scorn of fools? For it seems it were *to be wished* the church might proceed in the exercise of her discipline by *the wholesome method of canonical purgation*.

To be wished! By whom? What, by any man who hath the least knowledge, or sense, or love of liberty? Or that values his life, his honour, or his fortune? No. 'Tis a thing to be wished by none, but the enemies of the *British* constitution; who want to subject the rights of civil government, and the privileges of mankind, to the arbitrary dictates of a kingdom of priests.

WHEN once their decrees, assembled in sacred synod, shall come to have *the force* of laws, and they shall be invested with a *legislative power* in matters of religion, and shall have temporal penalties at their disposal to aid their decisions; will there be the least appearance of liberty left to a nation in such unhappy circumstances? Can religious liberty subsist, without *an unmolested freedom* to think and act, in matter of religion, according to the dictates of mens consciences? Or can it be pretended, that civil liberty remains entire, when civil penalties are at the clergies disposal, and they can apply them as a farther terror and punishment, to be called in as oft as the censures of the church are disobey'd?

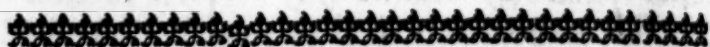
WILL they not guard their own determinations in matters of faith and worship by *spiritual censures*? And if any are so *insolent*

as

as to disobey them, will they not call in the aid of civil penalties, and thus force men to believe, and submit to, every thing that their own vanity and pride shall influence them to dictate? Can an age or nation be produced, when the clergy ever *honestly* refused to exercise this power when they had it? And if there be no instance of this kind to be shewn, a nation that trusts them with it, must be devoid of *common sense*, and even *infatuated by providence* to an intire destruction. And if there are any men amongst us, who wish them restored to it, they are only the stanch *Tories* in church and state, who can't maintain the principles of *Whiggism* and liberty in *civil affairs*, because they are for the exercise of tyranny, and the measures of persecution in *religious ones*.

AWAY then with this *hypocritical* and delusive distinction of a *Tory in church*, and a *Whig in the state*. Such a character can't exist in the nature of things, because it implies a contradiction to itself, and consists of principles that necessarily destroy each other. A real *Tory* is an enemy to *liberty*; and *Toryism in the church*, when free from restraint, will necessarily be productive of *oppression* and *slavery in the state*; for it can maintain its being, and thrive, only by *civil penalties*; and is never content, but when it can promote what it calls *the ends of religion*, by *temporal severities* and *punishments*. 'Tis a plant which our heavenly father *both not planted,*

188 *The OLD WHIG.* N^o 22.
*planted, the branches of which drop down
poison, which withers and destroys the fair-
est flowers and fruits which grow up under
it.*



N U M B. XXII.

To the OLD WHIG.

*Oh! that I could enucleate
And solve the problems of my fate!*

HUDIBRAS.

S I R,

YOUR predecessors were my very good friends and usually ready to help me whensoever I wanted them. I have therefore hopes you will give me what assistance you are able in my present distress. I will tell you my case in as few words as possible. REASON was my father, and VIRTUE my mother; and, as I am told, the whole world was my lawful inheritance. My father and mother, whilst they lived, were very fond of me, and took all the care imaginable of my education. I, like all great fortunes, did not want for admirers,

N^o 22. *The OLD WHIG.* 189

admirers, or flatterers. Every body courted me, and was full of my praises. Some, indeed, said I was a little wild, but all agreed I should make a good wife: But my father and mother happening to die when I was very young, my lovers immediately fell out among themselves for the guardianship of me; and each of them got into their hands such share of my estate as he was able. My old nurse, FRUGALITY, the only friend I had left, advised me to make my escape, whilst they were busy'd about what they chiefly valued, the seizing of my estate. She assured me, if any of them ever got me into their custody, notwithstanding their pretences of affection, my life itself would not be safe. She carried me to a mountain inhabited only by a few poor shepherds, where I was so closely concealed, that it was impossible to find me out; and indeed, all search after me was prevented by my *guardians*, as they call'd themselves, who each of them pretended they had me in their custody, tho' they durst not let me appear publicly, because that (besides it was improper for great princesses to be exposed to the eyes of the vulgar) I was of so delicate a constitution, that it was dangerous for me to stir abroad. I lived very happy in my retreat with my good old nurse, never hoping to regain my inheritance. The shepherds were fond of me, and let me want for nothing necessary for my subsistence; but they say, I contracted a rusticity amongst

amongst them, which I never shall get rid of. My nurse, to make me more respected, had told them of a prophecy of a famous fortune-teller at my birth, that tho' I should be oft in great distresses my self, the country where-ever I came should flourish: They soon found it to be true, and that I was a profitable guest; their flocks encreased vastly, and the wolf durst never come nearer them than the foot of the mountain. The change, which was produced, soon became visible to the countries around, and several wise men were curious to find out its cause: some of them found me out, and would have persuaded me to have left my retreat; but I would not venture, till they could assure me of a proper reception; which, notwithstanding their utmost endeavours, they could never effect. The vigilance of my *guardians* frustrated their schemes, and usually punished the undertakers of them. Sometimes indeed, the people began to clamour, and insist on seeing me; but my *guardians* found an expedient to satisfy them, by shewing them a foundling girl, who had a faint resemblance of me, dress'd up in a few of my old clothes, whom, on such occasions, they made personate me; her true name was LICENTIOUSNESS. As they managed it so, that she appeared only in the dusk, or a false light, the vulgar did not discover the cheat; they persuaded the people, that the *mountain girl*, the philosophers talk'd so much of, was no other than
that

that *foundling* : And one of them had the assurance to add, that he had been educated with me ; that I was a pretty girl, but had nothing of the majesty becoming a great princess ; and I was troubled with such fits of phrensy, that I pull'd every thing to pieces I could lay my hands on.

I SHOULD always have remain'd safe in my obscurity, if it had not been for some traders, who coming to buy wool of our shepherds, and finding it finer, and the flocks in better condition, than they had ever observed in any other place, were very inquisitive to find out the reason of such a difference. The shepherds told them, the happy state in which they found the mountain was wholly owing to a strange girl, and an old woman, who had lived for some time among them ; but they could not inform them who they were, or whence they came. The merchants would see us ; they immediately knew my *old nurse*, and began to suspect who I was. The eldest of them fixing his eyes on me stedfastly, said, Art thou then indeed LIBERTY, the desire of the earth, the fair child of REASON and VIRTUE ? I remember formerly to have seen the picture of thy mother, thou hast indeed her very look, that same piercing eye, that chearfulness, that innocence and simplicity ; if thou art indeed her daughter, no wonder at the fertility of the mountain, nor the felicity of its inhabitants. But whether thou art indeed the person that

I suspect, or not, I can soon prove by an infallible experiment: I remember, that I have oft heard your father say, no counterfeit could ever bear his daughter's presence; so saying, he presented to me an image set with false stones, which, at my touch, immediately lost all its lustre, and fell into dust: *The merchants* knew the omen, and did me homage; they swore to be my most faithful subjects, and besought me to return with them into their country, where, they assured me, I should find a joyful reception.

PAST experience had made me too wise to trust rashly to fair promises; but, considering the earnestness of their entreaties, I would not wholly slight their invitation; at their request, I sent my nurse along with them to prepare the way for me, and govern in my absence. I also advised them to take along with them some of the sheep of the mountain; and assured them, that if they took proper care of them, and obey'd the government of my nurse, they should soon become a most flourishing and powerful people, and I would make my public appearance amongst them. I told them my nurse had a son called CREDIT, who should look to their sheep and manage their affairs; but bid them be sure to keep a watchful eye over him, for that, tho' he was an excellent servant, he was no better than a rogue at the bottom. They followed my instructions, and put their country into a very prosperous condition; so
that

that I began to think of settling in it. But they soon grew so fond of *the servant* which I had recommended to them, that forgetting me and my advice, they deposed FRUGALITY, and put the government into the hands of her son. *He* immediately neglected the sheep, and every thing was let go to ruin; 'tis said, he even murder'd his own mother; 'tis certain she has been *missing* ever since he got the power into his hands; and that he has been heard to say, that she doated, and it did not signify what became of her. I was the first who felt her loss; she was the only hopes I had left; and if I don't find her again, I know not what will become of me. I knew that if she was destroy'd, I should not long continue safe, even in the mountain: I therefore set out immediately in search of her; but can hear no news of her. Every one I ask after my nurse, tells me they know nothing of her; but they can tell me of *somebody* who will take care of me, and do my business as well. A venerable *priest* told me, he would take care of me himself: he had so serious a look, I was inclin'd to hearken to him, and ask'd what he would do for me; he said, he would turn out my *guardians*, and take my estate into his own custody: What then, said I, is to become of me? You shall, says he, live in a fine garret I have, and shall never be troubled to stir abroad; and all that he desired in return for his care of me, was only to make his bed for him, and do what his god-mother madam SUPER-

STITION bid me: He was very angry that I should be such a fool as not to accept of his *charity*, as he call'd it; and left me with an oath that it should be worse for me, if ever he got me into his power. Another, who call'd himself a *lawyer*, made me many fine speeches, and told me of an aunt of his, a good old gentlewoman, whom he call'd MAGNA CHARTA, who would be vastly glad of my company, and do much for me: But on inquiry, I found she was grown very weak and infirm; and *my lawyer* being offered the post of *primier cady* by one of my guardians, grew so cool to me, that I gave up all expectations from that quarter. In short, if I had had faith, I might have expected protection from every body, *players* and *senators*, *whores* and *first ministers*. Some of their offers were whimsical enough: One Sir FINICAL CATGUT told me, I wanted for nothing but *harmony* amongst my friends, and said, he would try to engage signior FARRINELLI. Another said, all my misfortunes proceeded from a decay'd constitution, and recommended WARD's pill. But I think the most surprising, was a general, who offer'd me no less than 20,000 *grenadiers* (I think he call'd them) to supply the place of my nurse. You may be sure, I who am naturally a *shy girl*, did not care to trust myself with so many *fellows*.

THAT rogue CREDIT himself has sent me several respectful messages; but I am to

N^o 23. *The OLD WHIG.* 195

well acquainted with his tricks to be so caught. I am told you are my friend, and beg you will advise me for the best. I see myself every day in danger; fewer friends and more flatterers; and I fear, you are scarce able to keep me your self from the subtilty of my *guardians*, and the treachery of that villain CREDIT. I am,

Your distressed friend,

LIBERTY.



N U M B. XXIIH.

To the OLD WHIG.

S I R,

I T can little concern either you, or the public, to know by what accident the manuscript, which accompanies this, came to my hands. But it is fit I should assure you, that, as far as I know, it has never yet been printed: Nor did I ever see, or hear of, any other copy of it, than that which I now send you.

I T is a *speech* which was made in *parliament*; I cannot certainly say by whom, nor

O 2

at

at what time. But I am apt to think it must have been about the year 1660, or 1661.

THE subjects are UNIFORMITY, MUTUAL INDULGENCE, and LIBERTY OF CONSCIENCE.

AND whoever was the speaker, or whatever was the exact time and immediate occasion of the speech, it breathes a spirit, and contains sentiments not unworthy the regard of an OLD WHIG.

I DO not desire or design to make you, Sir, or myself accountable for every remark here made, or for every expression here used: But there are several things here suggested, which, in my judgment, deserve to be kept from sinking into oblivion, and are well worth publishing to the world. And I know of no fairer or better way of doing both, than by desiring that the speech, without any alteration of the sentiments, or so much as of the phrase, may be allowed a place in your paper. I am,

Your constant reader,

Coventry,
Sept. 6. 1735.

and well wisher,

D. M.

S I R,

I COULD heartily wish, that our condition at present were such, that we might study and debate how to advance the glory, riches

riches and power of this nation, rather than with so much distraction labour how to preserve its being. But since the general conduct of our affairs has reduced us to this necessitous posture, let us consider, what our present exigencies call for from us; and while therein we find a justification for the most extravagant debates and resolutions, let us continue sensible of their baseness who created the necessity, with which it is our prudence and unhappiness to comply.

THERE have been sundry overtures and projects, in order to the uniting of the minds of the Protestants here in this dangerous juncture of affairs. I confess, I am apprehensive of the dangers that any great change subjects a government to: I am sensible of the reputation of the house which may suffer by rescinding its own acts: I have made some reflections on the parties that may endanger the kingdom by their factiousness: I have all just respect for the national church of *England*, in its present constitution; and I shall so order my counsels, that I deviate not from the scripture and the constitution of God in the *Mosaical* law; the judgment and practice of the *primitive fathers*; and the acts and constitutions of those *emperors* who first modell'd christianity and accommodated it to government, and who reduced the empire (in circumstances not different from ours) to as flourishing a condition, and as peaceable, as ever it enjoyed: as is clear from the emperor

Theodosius, surnamed the great, and insisted on by *Bodin de Repub.* who recommends the practice as prudential, and gave the counsel to queen *Elizabeth*.

IN the kingdom of *Israel* (that precedent of monarchy, as far as it is established by the word of God) where God himself was law-giver, and the constitution is as unquestionable as his authority that made it, and the wisdom of *Solomon* and some others (no fools nor fanatics) that complied with it, the settlement was thus, as to religion.

THE *Jews*, and such as were total converts, or proselytes of justice, did observe all the *Levitical* law, as it is made up of ceremonies, and all the decalogue or ten commandments. What the ceremonial conformity was, you all know, and how much of it was performed in the temple; in the several places or stations for the priests and laity, men and women. But did this constitution oblige all? Could no man, or number of men live, and live openly there, exempted from this conformity, and exact uniformity, to every punctilio? It is undeniable, that it was quite otherwise.

THERE were among the *Jews*, a great number of persons, call'd *proselyti domicilii*, or strangers, not proselytes of justice, that dwelt constantly among them, that were so far from being concluded by the *Mosaic* law, that it was death for them to observe it. Of this number were many *Egyptians* that came

N^o 23. *The OLD WHIG.* 199

came up with them into the *boly land*: Such were the *Gibeonites*, of whose number we may guess by the bigness of their city; such were the *Canaanites*, that dwelt in the land, whose power was such, that they could not be exterminated by the *Israelites*.

ALL these strangers (yet constant inhabitants of the land) were only obliged to the seven commandments of *Noah*, and not to the *ceremonial* law at all. They worshiped in the same temple, in a particular apartment, but with different ceremonies: The *Jews* had a *liturgy*; these no form: They had priests; these none: The *Jews* offer'd variety of *sacrifices* and *oblations*; these none but *burnt offerings*: The one observ'd the *sabbath*, and divers holidays, on which the other might work: Nay, the one worshiped God under several attributes, the God of *Abraham*, *Isaac*, and *Jacob*; the other was not obliged actually to any worship, but *negatively*, not to deny a deity, or to speak irreverently, or contumeliously of him; and when they did pray, it was only the owning and worshiping a creator and ruler of the world.

THIS is avowed by the greatest of the *Rabbins* from the time of *Moses*, to the time of his writing, and that is *Maimonides* (*); and is

(*) *Gentilis qui legem Mosaicam observaret, reus erat mortis; quippe cui tantum observanda erant septem præcepta Noachidarum, seu omnium hominum communia.*

at large proved by Mr. Selden ^(b), and granted in the whole extent, as I have proposed it, by the learned Grotius ^(c), a man of good credit with all sons of the church of England. Of the same mind are all that write of the commonwealth of the Jews.

As to the observation of the sabbath ^(d), (were it not for fear of being prolix) I would particularly illustrate that point, because it is a dispensation with conformity to one of the ten commandments; which is at large proved too by Mr. Selden ^(e).

IT is easy to compare this liberty of religion with ours in England, as it is contended for, or opposed: and accordingly to judge of the extent of a toleration, how far it may go, how public it may be, how possible and how practicable the thing is in itself (for they had no standing army, and it was under a monarchy, and that no despicable one, under Solomon and David) and how it had God himself for its establisher.

I PASS by the times under Herod, and his immediate predecessors from Zerubabel downwards; in which, beside the aforesaid stran-

^(b) *Jus naturale Hebræorum.*

^(c) *De jur. Bell. c. 1. l. 1. p. 16.*

^(d) *Profelytos domicilii sive eos qui Judaismo nomina nondum dederint, quaecunque vitæ commercium intra ditionem Israeliticam admisisti, non modo observatione Sabbati omnino solutus habueras, sed pœnis gravissimis abnoxios, si observarent.*

^(e) *De jure Nat. l. 3. c. 12. and the Talmudists say, Israelitæ non prohibent ab opere Gentilem in Sabbato.*

gers, there were the several sects of *Scribes, Pharisees, Sadducees* and *Herodians*; whose tenets, if any shall inquire into, he shall find them to differ as much as our subdivided Christians and Protestants do^(f): As to the *Essenes*, it is peculiarly observable, that they declined the temple-worship, and were the *separatists* of that age. And yet, I must tell you, this condition of the *Jews* was not altogether unhappy, and our Saviour never told the magistrates that it was unlawful, or that it would be the ruin of the state; which cannot be otherwise, than by accident, imputed thereunto.

As to the *first christians*, while those unerring guides of the church instructed and ruled in the church, and were as well the foundation of our doctrine as of our hierarchy, let us take a view of their establishment. These were converts of the *Jews*, and converts of the *Gentiles*: And of the *Gentiles* some were proselytes of the *Mosaical* law; others of the profession only of the seven commandments of *Noah*. The *Jews*, and such as did *judaize*, observed all the *Mosaical* law, as strictly as the *Pharisees* did; they did circumcise, and pay their vows, and worship in the temple, and offer sacrifice, and kept the sabbath, and the like: So *Origen*^(g) says of those in his days.

^(f) As Scaliger, Drusus and Serrarius evidence.

^(g) *Judæi qui in Jesum Christum crediderunt non desiverant a patriis legibus; vivunt enim juxta eas.* Contra Celsum.

NOR was this only at *Jerusalem*, where *Judaism* was national, but at *Alexandria*, and elsewhere, where it was not so: For St. *Jerom* ^(^b) saith, that *Philo* the *Jew* observed this at *Alexandria*; yet did the other converted *Gentiles*, not *judaizing*, live according to a christianity super-added to the seven commandments, and consequently differing in form of worship vastly.

It is true, some went about to reduce them all to *uniformity*; but who were they ^(ⁱ)? Some of the *Jews*, (mark that) who believed (in *Christ*, and yet strictly observed the *Mosaical* law) of the sect of the *Pharisees*, (a sect so much decry'd by *Christ*); not the apostles and persons spirited by the Holy Ghost: *Paul* and *Barnabas* opposed it. And what character doth the scripture bestow upon this design of uniformity? In truth, that they troubled the church, *Acts* xv. And behold the issue of these troubles. The synod of the apostles, and others guided by the Holy Ghost, thus decide the controversy. They do not like this *uniformity* of worship and liturgies; for the *Jews* had a liturgy. This is no part of the *visum est Spiritui Sancto & nobis*. No, they oblige them to a few things, and those such as were only necessary. For the text, however vulgarly corrupted, and represented to establish ecclesiastical decisions as necessary; yet

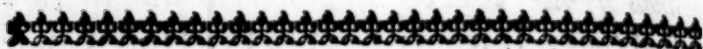
^(^b) About ecclesiastical writers.

^(ⁱ) Some bibles only say, they were *Pharisees*.

in our Biblia Polyglotta (*a candid work of the bishops of our church*) in a lection stands corrected thus: It seems meet to the Holy Ghost and to us, not to lay upon you any further burthen, πλὴν τῶν ἐπανάσσει, ^(k) besides what is absolutely necessary; *that is, say very learned writers, the seven precepts of Noah: For who will believe the Holy Ghost thought it necessary to salvation, that we neither eat black puddings or rabbits? That which follows is an illustration, not restriction; forbidding bloodshed, as well as idolatry and fornication: (parts of the law of Noah.)* And further that holy synod adds; and whatsoever you would not have done to your selves, do not that unto others ^(l); which is a decision I recommend to you in the like case; the debate being there as well as here, about *liberty of conscience.* That liberty which you would not be deprived of, do not go about to deprive others of. For the precedent words include things necessary; the following therefore, must refer to the point of *ceremonial conformity.*

^(k) Οὐραν. These, is not in the MS. of our king's library.

^(l) See Selden de Jur. Nat. lib. 7. c. 12. You must note that the text speaks of things strangled and blood: but by blood, is meant by bloodshed; and things strangled is an addition to the text, as the fathers observe, and the Biblia Polyglotta. And the other clause of avoiding that which they would not have done to them, is in old copies, and so repeated by Irenæus and others; as you may see in the place above, in Selden.



N U M B. XXIV.

The conclusion of the speech in our last.

AS to the *toleration* under *christian* emperors, I cannot but observe to you, Sir, that it was the judgment of those primitive times, and every where discovers itself in the edicts of the first *christian* emperors and fathers, that *religion is not to be forced*; but that every one should abound in his own sense; and that all variety, not only of opinions, but diversity of religions, should be *tolerated* in the state, if they were not destructive to government. *In this point, Tertullian* ^(m) *is peremptory, and Lactantius* ⁽ⁿ⁾; and agreeable to this, is the speech of Constantine ^(o) to the *Roman senate*: The particular passages I would willingly recite, were

^(m) *In his discourse to Scapula.*

⁽ⁿ⁾ *In his book de justitia, speaking of supporting religion by cruelty, oppression, and bloodshed, Jam non defendetur illa, sed polluetur & violabitur: nihil enim est tam voluntarium quam religio.*

^(o) *Related by Baronius in his annals of the year 324. Inter divina & humana servitia hoc interest, quod humana servitia coacta sint, divina autem voluntaria comprobentur.*

there

there not, beside protracting this discourse, a great deal of *pedantry* in quoting *latin*.

AND I should be too tedious, should I relate to you all the edicts made to this purpose by the subsequent emperors, which are recorded in the *Theodosian code*. No learned son of the church of *England* can deny it. *And Chrysostom is positive, that no godly emperor did enact against the Pagans any such laws, as they did against the Christians.*

No man versed in antiquity can deny, but that all the sects of the *Christians*, the *Pagans* and the *Jews*, had a full *liberty of conscience and religion*, without being excluded from public offices of *TRUST* and *PROFIT* in the senate, army and court. So that these times, which our episcopal divines so much recommend unto our imitation, when their hierarchy is concerned and their ceremonies, these times do clearly assert the lawfulness of a *general liberty of conscience*, without subjecting the several *dissenters* to any penalties. The heathen had their priests, their *pontifices*, *augures*, *quindecim viros sacris faciundis*, *Salios*, &c. till the time of *Theodosius* (^p). The *Arians* had their bishops; the *Novatians* their bishops and churches, (not to mention other sects) in the same dioceses, in which the more orthodox bishops had also their jurisdiction, and made up the national religion of the *Roman empire*. The *Jews* had also

(^p) Onuph. *descr. arb.* Tom. lib. 2.

their

their *academies* and *patriarchs*. From all which I do conclude, that it is lawful to enact for *liberty of conscience*; and that such acts are not inconsistent with government, nor subject to those inconveniences many suggest; since such monarchies have flourished notwithstanding them: All those conjectures are refuted by the aforesaid instances.

NOR need they trouble themselves to object, that the *Roman empire* had a *standing army* to preserve the peace and authority of the *empire*, seeing that those of that army were diversified by their several religions: And it is all one not to have any army at all, or to have one composed indifferently of the several parties that were to be kept under.

HAVING thus laid before you the judgment and practice of the best times, it will not be amiss to reflect on the several ways and endeavours which have been used toward the *uniting* the minds of men about religion.

As to the *Popish* way of enforcing a *general uniformity*, it is so barbarous, so unchristian, and so universally rejected by *Protestants*, that I believe you can't indure an harangue in behalf of the *inquisition*; and to extol the practices of queen *Mary's* days were as absurd, as to write an *encomium* for *Phalaris*, or *Buſiris*, or *Nero*.

ANOTHER way of *uniting* them, has been by contriving *general forms* and *ways*
(not

(not much unlike the device of *comprehension*, if I understand it aright) to which each party might subscribe; but this way God never blessed, but it proved like the fire-brands, which (with the cords) united the tails of *Sampson's* foxes, while their heads were at a distance, and being put into the corn, they burnt it; and this method has set all kingdoms on fire.

NOR is it *policy*; for instead of abrogating all, it gives a countenance to all opinions it would extinguish.

How little are the controversies ceased between the *Dominicans* and *Jesuits*, since the equivocal council of *Trent*, to which they subscribe, and which both parties allege? So among *Protestants*, how little are controversies extinguished by the dubious or general texts of scripture? Nay, are they not eterniz'd by them? How little does the dubious *creed* of the *apostles* conduce to the deciding among *Protestants* or *Socinians*?

As to the *uniting* therefore of mens minds into one religion, it is impossible; it is as impossible to make all mens consciences of the same extent and latitude, as to make all mens shoes of the same size. Different gifts make different professions; since none is accountable for more than he hath receiv'd. The weak are not to condemn the strong; and the strong are to tolerate, not destroy the weak. *This is gospel; and I hope you will make this to be law. Take away the condemn-*
ing

ing of the one, and the oppression of the other, and you will establish the church, rather than destroy it, or the peace of this nation. Besides,

I DESIRE you would observe, that there is no precedent of any *liberty of conscience* granted on *penalties*, for that unavoidably establishes a *faction*; for it is natural for mankind to desire to be at ease, and to wish, and (upon occasion) to endeavour its redress and relief from any grievance; it is natural for such as reap benefit from the depression of others to strive to continue them in that oppressed condition: From hence arises anger, hatred, malice, and all uncharitableness, and such contention as destroys a state. *If a kingdom be divided, how can it stand?*

As all things different are not opposite, no more is all distinction a factious division, and destructive to the being of a government. All you make up one parliament; personal quarrels may ruin you, but personal distinctions will not. Contrarities mutually expel each other out of the same subject by course of nature; things desperate do not.

SINCE therefore a *Popish inquisition* is barbarous and odious; subscribing to *general forms and opinions* dangerous and ineffectual; *uniting* mens minds into *one religion* impossible; and *no liberty* granted upon *penalties*; what other way is left to unite, but to allow each church its several way of worship? Which kind usage, with moderate endeavours, and not imposing general opinions, may in
time

time (as it was of old) so far prevail with them to reconcile the differences among themselves, that at last they may arrive to *mutual communion*, tho' not to an *exact uniformity*.

THUS the *Millenaries* of old, and fifth-monarchy men, communicated with the other *Christians*; and so it was with Mr. *Mede* and the church of *England*. Thus the *baptized Christians* and the *Anabaptists* ^(a) made up one church. Thus the *Judaizing Christians* and *Gentiles* communicated together: So did the *Arians* ^(b) and *Trinitarians*.

AND methinks it is odd, that the church of *England* should suffer our *tutelar* saint to be St. *George* ^(c), that *Arian* bishop, and yet not allow the communion of any favour to an *Anabaptist*, or *Fifth-monarchist*.

SUCH a communion, I say, were to be wished; and the only way we can hope for at present to unite us, is ^(d), to allow each church its several way of worship, they maintaining their ministers: All reproachful language, and odious consequences imposed up-

^(a) As Tertullian, Nazianzen, the emperors Constantine and Valentinian.

^(b) Eusebius.

^(c) As Calvin saith, v. postscript to the second letter.

^(d) Constantine, and the subsequent emperors, maintained at their charge, the variety of religions, priests and sacrifices: As there had been at Antioch one apostle for the Jews, and another for the Gentiles; so there were afterwards in the same city, besides the different heathen priests, bishops to the Novatians, Arians, Donatists and Catholics.

on each party, as well as odious names being prohibited; as were the names of *heretic* and *schismatic* by queen *Elizabeth*.

THIS course has succeeded well; for under it religion grew; and whilst religion was no man's *interest*, it was scarce any man's *hypocrisy*: When truth had no other recommendations but its naked self, such as embraced it did it cordially.

NOR was it ever demonstrated, or can be, that the use of this *liberty* did directly and necessarily introduce such *factions* as are inconsistent with any government or monarchy. And if it were only the abuse of it, let us look to that; since the church of *England* so often inculcates to us, that *propter abusum non est tollendus usus*: For that were like the forbidding the ^(c) *Scythians* to plant vines, because wine might make them drunk.

To conclude all therefore, let us in our law be as tender of men's consciences, as our common law is of their lives; which takes care rather that a thousand criminals should escape, than one innocent be destroyed.

(c) Aristotle condemns that paralogism of Anacharsis.



N U M B. XXV.

—*Mentiri nescio. Librum,
Si malus est, nequeo laudare.*—

Juven. Sat. 3.

THE reverend and learned Dr. *Waterland* observes, in his late *discourse of fundamentals* ^(*), that we have almost as many different rules for determining fundamentals, as there are different sects or parties; and that, which might otherwise serve, if all men were reasonable, to end all differences, has itself been too often made one principal bone of contention. This is a very true and judicious remark, which had the Doctor kept in continual view, he would not, I presume, have thrown amongst us new bones of contention, by giving us an account of all the articles of his own creed, and modestly stamping every one of them with the *indelible character* of a ^(†) *fundamental verity*.

BUT notwithstanding the ^(†) *clouds and darkness* which *perverse disputers* have at any time raised about the doctrine of fundamentals, the Doctor affirms, ^(†) *that there is certainly*

^(*) p. 7. ^(†) p. 24. ^(*) p. 7. ^(†) p. 8.

a way of clearing it from all reasonable exceptions, however difficult it may be to come at that way; and the better to clear it, explains the ratio of a fundamental truth in this manner (v). A fundamental doctrine, says he, is such a doctrine, as is in strict sense of the essence of christianity, without which, the whole building and superstructure must fall; the belief of which is necessary to the very being of christianity.

THIS is his definition of a fundamental in the abstract view, as fixed in the nature of things, and as it hath relation to the article of church communion. But I apprehend, that upon examination we shall find, that

THIS definition explains just nothing at all; and tho' the reverend Doctor pretends to clear the point (w) and settle it upon a rational foot, yet he leaves the matter just as it was, and hath not scattered any of those clouds, with which, he complains, *perverse disputers have darkened it.* For what is his defining a fundamental doctrine to be *such a doctrine as is in strict sense of the essence of christianity,* any thing more than saying, that a *fundamental doctrine* of christianity is an *essential doctrine* of christianity? And doth the word *essential* convey a more clear and determinate sense than the word *fundamental*? And when he adds, *without which the whole building and superstructure must fall,* is it any thing but

(v) p. 14. (w) p. 7.

affirming, that a *fundamental doctrine* is a *foundation doctrine*, and that a house must have a foundation to support it? But is this to define? Or doth the learned world need to be told by the acute Dr. *Waterland*, that a building can't stand without a foundation? 'Tis true, that the settling an house upon a foundation, is settling it upon a rational or solid foot, and the Doctor shall have the glory of explaining this *ratio* of building houses, and fixing this certain rule whereby to discover or determine what kind of houses and superstructures are regularly built. But that to affirm a *fundamental doctrine* is an *essential* one, or a *foundation* one, without which the superstructure can't stand, is the same thing as to *explain* the *ratio* of a fundamental truth, and to fix a certain rule to discover and determine what doctrines and positions properly fall under such denomination, will never be allowed the Doctor, till he is pleased to shew that the word *essential* is easier to be understood than the word *fundamental*; or that there is any difference between a *fundamental* and a *foundation doctrine*.

He adds, *the belief of which is necessary to the very being of christianity, like the first principles of any art or science*. So that the definition comes at last to this: That a fundamental doctrine is strictly an essential, foundation and necessary doctrine of christianity. But what new discovery is there in all this? Is *this ratio* of a fundamental truth the happy offspring of the Doctor's penetration and judgment;

ment; and worthy all that solemn apparatus with which he introduces it to his *reverend brethren*? He tells them of ^(a) Lord *Verulam's* judgment about fundamentals, of the subject's having *passed through many learned and judicious hands, most of them complaining of perplexities in it, all bearing testimony to the importance of it.* He accurately observes to them the just distinctions between ^(b) *essentials* and *circumstantials*; *fundamentals* and *extrafundamentals*; and between *fundamentals* and *non-fundamentals*; asserts that *there is in scripture and reason sufficient ground for these distinctions*; that the ^(c) *primitive churches* had them all along in their eye, and that ^(d) *we need not wonder if much pains has been taken to perplex and entangle it.* But the *perverse disputers* may raise clouds and darkness, and *wranglers* may contrive a thousand ways to perplex and entangle the clearest rule; yet as to himself, he'll for once settle the point upon ^(e) *a rational foot*, clear it up so far as will suffice the *honest and reasonable part of mankind*, and so explain the ratio of a fundamental truth, as to fix for the future some certain rule to discover or determine what kind of doctrines or positions properly fall under such denomination. And then comes out this memorable definition:

Reverend Brethren,

“ A fundamental doctrine is of the essence of christianity, and like a foundation

(a) p. 2. (b) p. 4. (c) p. 6. (d) p. 7. (e) p. 14.

“ to a house, without which the super-
 “ structure must fall ; and so like the first
 “ principles of an art or science, that it is
 “ necessary to the being of christianity.”
 Or, in other words, a fundamental doctrine
 is an essential, foundation, necessary doc-
 trine of christianity.

Scire tuum nihil est, nisi te scire hoc sciat alter?

WHAT is there in this definition, more
 than putting one hard word for another ? But
 supposing that it gives a distinct notion of a
 fundamental doctrine, yet how will it *end dif-*
ferences, and take away *the bones of contention*
 out of the christian church ? Have the main
 differences amongst christians been about the
 meaning of the *word* fundamental, or about
 the *doctrines* that have come under that de-
 nomination ? Let the sense of the word be as
 explicit as it can be made, how will it make
 any alteration in mens judgments about those
 principles to which it hath been, or may be
 applied ? The Doctor himself hath given us a
 list of some of his fundamentals, under seven
 heads, which drawn out into proper particu-
 lars will make about sevenscore. But doth
 the *good man* imagine, that by his definition
 of the word fundamental, all christians will
 allow all his doctrines to be so, which he hath
modestly christened by that name ? If not, the
 bones of contention will still remain.

BUT the definition itself is absurd, and
 contradictory to his own principles. (†) *A fun-*

(†) P. 14.

damental doctrine, says he, is necessary to the very being of christianity. In agreement with this he farther affirms, that ^(s) *fundamentals and necessities coincide, and are indeed the same thing.* They must be so, and cannot be otherwise. And yet he makes a distinction between *fundamentals* and *necessaries*, making fundamentals of a ^(h) *fixed determined nature, as much as christianity it self,* and necessities of an indeterminate variable nature, and ⁽ⁱ⁾ therefore not capable of being reduced to *to one rule or measure.* As tho' what was necessary to the very being of christianity, was not to all persons, and upon all accounts; as necessary as what is fundamental to it.

I AM sensible the Doctor will deny, that the belief of all doctrines, which are necessary to the very being of christianity, are necessary to salvation, and that this is the reason of his distinction between *fundamentals* and *necessaries.* Agreeable to this he notes, that ^(k) *tho' the scripture says absolutely,* he that believeth not shall be damn'd, yet 'tis plain *that such forms of expression are always to be understood with grains of allowance for invincible ignorance, or unavoidable infirmity.* And yet, as if the Doctor had forgot himself, or thought these *grains of allowance* too many, he tells us in another place ^(l), *It may perhaps be justly said, that in a general way, all*

^(s) p. 9. ^(h) p. 10. ⁽ⁱ⁾ p. 9. ^(k) p. 11. ^(l) p. 39.
the

the essentials of the gospel are declared to be NECESSARY TO SALVATION in one single text, which declares the belief of the gospel necessary: He that believeth it not, shall be damn'd. He adds, What are the essential articles, must be learned from other places: But whatever they are, they are here declared to be necessary, viz. to salvation. If then all the essentials of the gospel are declared by Christ, in a general way, to be necessary to salvation, how do abstract and relative fundamentals, or fundamentals and necessities really differ? Fundamentals are by his definition, essential and necessary to the very being of christianity, and all essentials are declared by Christ, necessary to salvation; and by consequence what is abstractedly fundamental, must be relatively so too; and therefore mens different capacities and opportunities can never make necessities vary more than fundamentals, because they are of the same importance, both to christianity and salvation.

It must be confessed, that the Doctor's distinction of abstract and relative fundamentals, or his allowance, that men may be saved by the covenant mercies of God, whom the church may reject from her communion, intirely destroys all the force and terrors of church-communication, and hath a great semblance of charity: But I cannot help at the same time wondering at this learned divine's conduct, who thus lends his kind assistance to men who deny doctrines necessary to the very being

being of christianity, by setting before them *the possibility* of salvation, and comforting them with the hopes of covenant mercy; at the same time that he pleads for the lawfulness of excluding from communion his christian brethren, be they never so diligent and honest in their inquiries, if they happen not to agree with him in his *metaphysical necessities*; and lays down such rules about fundamentals, which, if put in practice, must divide the christian church into endless parties, without a possibility of reconciling them.

WERE I to follow the dictates of my reason, without regarding the doctrines of men, or the behaviour of the different sects of christians towards one another, I should think, that those whom I dare not exclude for their errors from the possibility of obtaining the christian salvation, I should not dare to exclude from the benefit of christian communion. Which is the greater blessing, to receive the sacrament with a particular party of christians, or to obtain the christian salvation? If there is a possibility of their having the greater, why should it be impossible for them to have the less? A christian erring in fundamentals, may find acceptance with God; why then should he be rejected and treated without mercy by men? If we ^(m) can't make any certain judgment as to particular men, either with respect to their heads or their

(^m) p. 10.

bearts, what right have we to expel them from communion, when their hearts may be honest, merely for the sake of the weakness of their heads?

THE Doctor allows (ⁿ), that *God will have regard in judgment to invincible ignorance, incapacity, or infirmity.* Yea, he hath *uncovenanted mercies* for *pagans* and *infidels* themselves, and allows *covenanted mercy* for such as *err fundamentally with an honest mind*, thro' some *unavoidable infirmity or incapacity*, and declares that such are *not chargeable with sin*, but that *God will accept them according to what they have, or might have.* Would not one imagine that this gracious equitable conduct of the great God towards honest tho' mistaken men, should be a pattern for the church, and worthy of her imitation? No. *Mercy* is the attribute of *God*, but *unrelenting rigour* is the duty of the church. God will act as a compassionate father, but church governors must act as tyrants. For he expressly says (^o), *God will have regard in judgment to invincible ignorance, incapacity, infirmity.* But men ought to have no regard to them, in settling the terms of communion.

AWAKE O ye G——s, S——ks, and H——es, the venerable fathers of our Protestant church! See how the equity of the almighty God is rejected as a pattern for your behaviour! See how ye are excited to

(ⁿ) p. 61. note 5. (^o) p. 61, 62.

become

become *cruel task-masters* over the subjects of your great master, and to pay no regard to invincible ignorance, incapacity and infirmity in the christian flock. 'Tis allowed expressly by this reverend divine, that a christian may err fundamentally with an honest mind, and as such not be excluded from covenant mercies: And yet he excites you to treat such a one as a dishonest person, as tho' he were absolutely *estranged from the covenant of promise*, and incapable of salvation. He calls on you, reverend fathers, as the governors of the church, to execute the *censures* of the church against him, and without once supposing that his errors are invincible, or making the least allowances to the prejudices of an honest mind, to make use of *the same expedients*, as tho' you were certain that *his error is conquerable, and the party capable of cure*, i. e. to pronounce him cut off from the church of God, tho' he allows that he may be an object of the covenanted mercy of God.

BUT can this be a rule of a revelation that is really from the God of mercy? Can this be a rule of conduct to take place amongst the followers of the humble Jesus? The rule is: Censure, condemn, excommunicate, reject from christian communion, and declare cut off from the covenant mercy of God, the man that the governors of the church say errs fundamentally. He may indeed be an honest man, his errors may be
invincible,

invincible, and God hereafter may accept him upon the terms of the christian covenant. Trifling considerations these, and unworthy the regards of the governors of the church. His honesty be to himself, and his salvation with God. The governors of the church are neither to suppose the one, nor trouble themselves about the other. *Ense recidendum est.* The shortest way is the best. *Cut him down; he is a cumberer of the ground.* The spiritual sword must be drawn, and curable or incurable, immediate vengeance must take place.

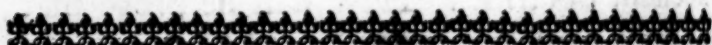
BUT from what part of our Saviour's conduct, or that of his apostles, from what one rule of the gospel, or canon of scripture, doth this *fundamental divine* deduce this most excellent doctrine? How will he prove that the most equitable procedure of God in judging men hereafter, is to be no guide to church governors in their dealing with christians now? Or that we are never to suppose that mistaken men may be honest, and their prejudices invincible? or that a person hath no right to christian communion, who, we have reason to think, may have a title to the christian salvation, and be finally received of God?

WOULD it not have become this reverend gentleman, to have at least once considered those words of St. Paul (P)? *Who art thou that judgest another man's servant? To his*

(P) *Rom. xiv. 4.*

own master he standeth or falleth. Yea, he shall be holden up: for God is able to make him stand. The very supposition that God might make him stand is urged by this apostle as a reason why men, should receive him, and abstain from judging him. Dr. *Waterland* is of a quite contrary opinion, and says⁽¹⁾, *A man shall be accepted according to what he hath, or might have, and that this is a gospel rule, and so makes a part of the christian covenant; but yet pleads, that church governors are to judge and censure him, and in spite of his own honesty, and God's accepting him, to cut him off from church communion.*

(1) p. 61.



N U M B. XXVI.

— *Ex fumo dare lucem*

Cogitat, ut speciosa debinc miracula promat.

H O R A T.

DR. *Waterland* having grievously complained about the clouds and darkness with which perverse disputers have perplexed and entangled the question about fundamentals, without clearing it himself; and having defined a fundamental doctrine without

out explaining it, *advances to the next step, which, as he tells us, bears an immediate connection with the former; viz. (r) That such doctrines as are found to be intrinsical or essential to the christian covenant, are fundamental truths.*

I CONFESS my self so unhappy, as to see neither the *advance*, nor the *connection*. His definition is, a fundamental doctrine is such a one *as is of the essence of christianity*. His next step is, that such doctrines *as are found to be essential to the christian covenant*, are fundamental. Now if *the christian covenant* is the same with *christianity*, then the Doctor's *next step* is the very same with his *first*, and he *advances, without moving a single point*.

IF by the *christian covenant* he means something *different* from christianity, or christianity formed into any particular scheme or system by the wisdom of the church, then, tho' his definition of a fundamental should be allowed good, yet it will by no means follow, that doctrines found essential to the christian covenant are fundamental truths, *i. e.* that doctrines essential to something different from christianity, or to some particular systems of christianity, are fundamental doctrines of the christian religion; because that which is different from christianity cannot be of its essence, and because particular systems formed

(r) p. 14.

by men are oftentimes found to be really different from the true christian system.

CHRISTIANITY is unquestionably called a *covenant* in the new testament writings; but then 'tis ever used in a *metaphorical* and figurative sense; either to signify the divine condescension and the readiness of God to receive men to his favour, or to represent to them the certainty of their obtaining the blessings promised to the belief of, and obedience to, the gospel. But to run divisions upon metaphorical expressions, and to build fundamental doctrines upon such a foundation, is not to proceed with clearness, but sit still in uncertainty and darkness.

HAD the word *διαθήκη* been always translated a *testament*, then the Doctor's definition must have run, *such doctrines as are intrinsical, or essential to the christian testament, are fundamental truths*; and he would have been more particular in shewing us the several articles of a testament. 1. *A Testator.* 2. *Legatees.* 3. *Witnesses.* 4. *Executors.* 5. *Codicil.* 6. *Probate.* 7. *Proctors and Judges*; and argued, I doubt not, that the clergy were appointed *jure divino* to be those proctors and judges in the spiritual court or church. But tho' christianity may well be called a *covenant* and *testament*, because in some respect it resembles both, yet is it the best way of forming a distinct judgment of the doctrines of it, to consider it under figurative representations? Can the

notions

notions of a covenant or testament be in all respects applied to christianity? The Doctor I am sure knows they can't; and therefore as somewhat that is essential to a covenant may not agree to christianity, the deriving the essentials of christianity from the consideration of it as a covenant, can't be the way to clear up and determine, but to perplex and entangle.

THE Doctor's expression, *such doctrines as are to be FOUND intrinsical*, is still more obscure and intricate than the other. *To be found*: Where, and by whom? In the scripture? No. The Doctor hath declared the scriptures to be an *insufficient rule* in this case, and won't allow either our Saviour or his apostles to have decided the case. For he expressly says ('), *'Tis certain, that whatever scripture hath expressly declared necessary, or commanded us to believe, under pain of damnation, or of exclusion from christian communion, that is fundamental. But it is not true, on the other hand, that whatever scripture has not so bound upon us, is not fundamental, i. e. that may be a fundamental doctrine necessary to salvation and christian communion, which the scriptures have not declared so.*

THIS doctrine of the Doctor's is contrary to the articles of the church of *England*, which the Doctor hath solemnly subscribed. The 6th article expressly affirms, that *holy*

(') p. 38, 39.

Q

scripture

Scripture containeth all things necessary to salvation, so that whatsoever is not read therein, nor may be proved thereby, is not to be required of any man that it should be believed as an article of the faith, or be thought requisite or necessary to salvation. And agreeable to this, the 20th article declares, that as the church ought not to declare any thing AGAINST holy writ, so BESIDES the same, ought it not to enforce any thing to be believed for the necessity of salvation. Luther declares (), *Extra seu supra verbum Dei nulla fides subsistere potest*; there can be no faith without or beyond the word of God. And when the Papists affirmed, that Christ had not taught all things, but left many things to be taught and commanded, he calls it (†) *execrabilis impudentia Pontificiorum*; the execrable impudence of the Papists.*

BUT if a doctrine may be thus found necessary to salvation and communion, which the scriptures have not declared so, by what other authority must we be determined in so important an affair? What, by councils and fathers? Luther would have treated such a proposal with contempt, and would have boldly affirmed, that to take the necessities of salvation from them, or any men, would be (‡) *derogare gloriae Christi, verbumque eius spernere, & pedibus conculcare*; to derogate from the glory of Christ, to despise his word and trample it under foot.

(*) *Seck. 1. 3. § 20.* (†) *Ibid. § 30.* (‡) *Ibid.*

IF councils and fathers are not to *find* out fundamentals for us, to whom must we have recourse to *find* out this treasure? Why I presume the priests must *find* them out for themselves, and then the people seek instruction from their mouths. And this is the Doctor's humble opinion. For he tells us, (*) *The church must judge — what is fundamental to the christian fabric.* This he explains soon after, by saying (*), *men — settling the terms of communion;* and these men are church governors, and these church governors are the *archdeacon of Middlesex and the Middlesex clergy.* For thus that gentleman speaks to them (†), *Having thus, my reverend brethren, examined, &c. I may now return to the rule before laid down. By this rule, I humbly conceive, WE MAY, with sufficient certainty, fix the terms of communion with the several denominations of christians.* And in my turn, I very humbly conceive, that if the Doctor and his clergy will settle these terms only over a bottle of wine, or within the compass of a college chamber, or between themselves at an *Easter visitation*, without giving the world any further trouble about them; the several denominations of christians will have nothing to object against it, nor envy him or them the pleasure of contemplating their own abilities, and applauding their projects for fixing the terms of church communion. But if the archdea-

(*) p. 60. (‡) p. 61. (†) p. 62.

con *humblly* conceives, that he, and his clergy, shall be allowed *authoritatively* to fix the terms of communion for the several denominations of christians, how great an opinion soever they may have of his *humility*, I am persuaded they will deny his right of claim, and scarce allow him fit for the work, if they may judge by his *sample* of fundamentals.

AND indeed, before the Doctor sets up for himself, he should shew from scripture some warrant for any church governors to execute this trust of finding out the fundamentals of christian communion for all, or any denominations of christians. He must know that this will be denied him by all *consistent Protestants*; and that it was the claim and exercise of this power that occasioned the confusions and persecutions in the church after *Constantine's* days, and that was the rise, and is to this day the support of popery.

IF some church governors must settle terms of communion for all other christians, why should we depart from the church of *Rome*, which claims it, and hath for many ages exercised it? It hath at least a *right of prescription*, and I know no other reason why the Doctor should not allow it upon his principles but one; viz. because he is not a member, or one of the governors of that church himself.

BUT if the Doctor will choose to say, that the governors of each particular church are

the persons who are to *find* out the terms of communion for the christian laity, I should think it proper, that he should produce *an authentic command* for the laity to make such a *resignation* of their faith and consciences to their lords and masters the clergy: Otherwise, thinking men will treat the doctrine with scorn. He ought also to vindicate the reformation which was introduced *contrary* to the leave, and *in opposition* to the command of those who were then the governors of the church. He ought also to prove, that the governors of the church have a right to establish opposite and contradictory doctrines; contradictory both to themselves, and to christianity, as terms of communion, *i. e.* that the governors of *Socinian, Arian, Arminian, Calvinist, Papist, Protestant churches*, have a right to settle their peculiar doctrines, tho' in many instances contrary to each other, as terms of communion for the laity under them, and to apply such *church censures* as may carry *instruction and admonition* along with them, and to make use of the same expedients towards those whom they severally judge erroneous, as if they were certain the parties were all capable of cure.

BUT is not this scheme, for settling the point of fundamentals upon a rational foot, which is subject to this and a thousand other difficulties, a *curious invention*, and a *hopeful expedient*? A scheme, that professedly excludes the only *infallible rule* from determining

mining the point, and puts this great affair into the hands of a certain set of men, called *church governors*; who, if one may judge by their past conduct, appear to be, of all others, the most unfit for the discharge of such a work, and who have always betray'd their ignorance, superstition, pride, partiality, and other indications of a weak and fallible mind, whenever they have attempted it. A scheme, that leaves the gospel of our blessed Saviour a poor, *unshapen*, and imperfect thing, defective even in the fundamentals of salvation and communion; and that needs to be continually *patched* and botched, lessened or enlarged, altered or amended, just as these *spiritual jobbers* think fit; or as the *rise and fall* of their stock best suits their interest, and ambition.

For the Doctor, not content with giving us a long list of fundamentals, several of them obscure, general, and undetermined; and such as no one denomination of christians will so much as allow to be articles of christianity; yet to keep us in pain, and that the church governors may never want employment; tells us, he hath reserved a great many more of them in petto; (p. 24, 25.) *which may easily be drawn out by the same rule as often as occasion shall require, and that it is not necessary to exhibit any compleat catalogue of fundamentals.* But that as physicians can give a competent list of the essentials of human life, so divines can specify several essential verities

rities with unerring certainty, and have certain rules whereby to judge, as occasion offers, of any others.

I DON'T like these dealers in *specifics*. The pretending to them in physic is generally a sign of *Quackery*. If divines have a certain and *infallible specific* to settle fundamentals, the cause of truth, and the peace of the christian church demand that it should be applied; and nothing but the application can be a proof, that the pretenders to it are not cheats. The Doctor boasts of his universal remedy in any question about church communion, *heresy, schism and the like*; and declares his rule to be *certain*, tho' not taught him by inspiration, nor drawn from inspired writers. This *arcanum* in divinity is his own lucky invention, which, like *Ithuriel's spear*, no sooner touches a doctrine, but it immediately discovers its nature, and shews whether it be right sterling or counterfeit.

How fortunate is this discovery for the present and future ages of the christian church, and what rewards are due to the *happy genius* to whom we owe it! It is not indeed a discovery to unite our differences, and settle the several denominations of christians in one communion. No. The Doctor's certain rule is a rule to instruct church governours when and whom to excommunicate; to invent new fundamentals, and multiply Terms of communion as the clergy shall find occasion, that the several denominations of christians

may never keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace. Yea, 'tis a rule to ^(*) receive but not continue the same person as a member of the christian church; to allow him baptism and christian-fellowship, but not to give him a right all along to christian fellowship. The clergy may find occasion for new fundamentals besides those which gave him a right of being received as a member of the church: and if they do, he must not continue a member unless he submit to them, *i. e.* 'Tis in the clergies breasts to receive and reject a man from church communion at their pleasure, and to make any thing, every thing, that they shall think proper, fundamental to such communion.

If this be so, church communion would be both a *whimsical* and *precarious* thing; and as it might be so easily forfeited, a wise man would give himself little trouble about it. But as this doctrine of fundamentals hath as little foundation in reason as in scripture, an honest christian, who sincerely endeavours to know and do the will of God, need not be in any pain for the censures of fallible and peevish divines; and since Dr. *Waterland* allows that God may receive him, tho' he doth not believe his fundamentals, he may sit down very contented if *the Archdeacon of Middlesex* should not own him for a christian, nor admit him to communion with himself and his brethren the clergy,

(*) p. 48.



N U M B. XXVII.

To the OLD WHIG.

S I R,

THE underwritten letter was sent about two months past to the bishop of *London*; but as I find that no regard is paid to it, so I send it you as proper to have a place in your paper; the matter of complaint is what I think must give offence to all *consistent Protestants*, and be the cause of great triumph to their adversaries.

My Lord,

August 6, 1735.

AS you have shewn great zeal in the discharge of the duties of your pastoral office, so I hope you'll think, what I have to offer is not unworthy of your notice. Being lately at the church of *St. James Clerkenwell*, I observed an altar-piece newly erected, which gave me great offence, as I find it does many besides: The virgin *Mary* is painted with Christ in her arms, in the front,
with

with *Moses* and *Aaron* on each side, as her proper guard. I wish your lordship would take a view of this new work, which, in my judgment, is the reproach of Protestantism, and very near ally'd to images, which we so justly condemn in the church of *Rome*. And as such fopperies are now growing upon us (and such as the common people were in all ages, as well as the present, too fond of) so I doubt not but you'll order its removal, and not suffer any of the like kind, either there, or in any other church, within your jurisdiction. My lord, if people will have ornaments in that place, I think the commandments, with the creed, and the Lord's prayer, are only what they should be indulg'd in. Pictures (however dignify'd or distinguished) naturally tend to great superstition, and to take peoples minds from what should be the subject of their thoughts during the time of divine service; and were therefore, no less than images, condemn'd and rejected at the reformation; all which your lordship is too sensible of, to want any information. I shall therefore give you no farther trouble, but depend, that you will put a stop to this growing evil; which will effectually convince the world, that you are in earnest for the *Protestant* cause. But if no care is taken to prevent such nuisances in religion, people, that think on such matters, will have too much reason for concluding, that the reformed religion is almost at as low an ebb at home,

N^o 27. *The OLD WHIG.* 235

as it has been for some Years abroad. I
am,

S I R,

Your Lordship's most humble servant,

THOMAS WATSON.

I CANNOT take upon me to say, what has been the reason, why the right reverend prelate, to whom this letter was addressed, has not hitherto thought fit to comply with Mr. W—'s request. Perhaps the church of St. James Clerkenwell is exempt from his Lordship's jurisdiction: Or some circumstance or other may make it irregular for his Lordship at present to interpose in this affair, in the manner here desired. I offer these conjectures, because I cannot easily be persuaded, that his Lordship does approve of these kinds of decorations, or that he desires to countenance or encourage the putting, or the keeping, them up in any of the churches, that are under his inspection and care.

THIS humour of placing *pictures* in places of public worship, as *helps to devotion*, is little suited to the plain and manly spirit of *christianity*. The primitive *christians* and their *churches* were quite unacquainted with all ornaments of this nature. The first *protesters* against the church of Rome express'd a great indignation against them, and reckon'd

kon'd them among her most gross corruptions.

A LATE excellent *prelate* of our church, never to be mentioned or thought of without the highest regard, has, in a very free and most agreeable manner, let the world know his sentiments on this head. The late right reverend Dr. *William Fleetwood*, bishop first of *St. Asaph*, and afterwards of *Ely*, was never accounted an enemy to any *decency* and *order*, that was consistent with a becoming concern for the *Protestant religion*, and a zealous attachment to the *Protestant succession* in his present Majesty's most august house. To these he was a uniform, unsuspected, and declared friend: He was so at all times, but never more remarkably so, than at a season, when professions of zeal, either for the *Protestant succession*, or the *Protestant religion*, were not thought the nearest, or surest, way to preferment. In a little pamphlet, well known to have been wrote by him, tho' published without his name, the reader may see (*) that this truly great man thought the practice which Mr. *W.* complains of, to be of a very unjustifiable nature, of a very dangerous tendency, and likely to be attended with very mischievous consequences; and that he judged, that any private christian, who endeavoured to prevent, or put a stop to inno-

(*) *A letter to an inhabitant of the parish of St. Andrews, Holbourn, about new ceremonies in the church.*
Printed for James Knapton, 1717.

vations of this kind, deserved assistance, countenance and commendation.

THERE he expresses himself on this subject in the following manner. ^(b)

“ SOME hundreds of years had past, before any *picture, image* or *statue* of a saint, was placed in any christian church, throughout the world; tho’ it is not unlikely that there were both in other places for ornament and honour. It came at length into a *painter’s* head, to represent, in as lively a manner as he could, the sufferings of a *martyr’d saint*, to which the church was dedicated, *i. e.* by whose name it was called: and to hang this piece in some conspicuous place within it. Wise men were offended with the novelty; not at the picture, but at the setting it up in the *church*; but the common people were mightily pleased with it, and said, that pictures were *the only books which they could read*; and found themselves much edified by seeing how the saints had glorified God, and confirm’d the faith by their constancy in suffering, and induring torments for the sake of Christ: And could such good thoughts, and noble resolutions, be better raised in them than *at church*, where they met so often to worship God? And therefore such good pictures were most properly placed in churches. There

^(b) P. 17.

“ lived

" lived hard by a very devout *statuary*, who
 " excelled in carving images both of stone
 " and wood, who seeing the people so
 " mightily taken with the *picture*, asked
 " them, one day, whether an *image* of their
 " patron-saint, carved out of fine marble,
 " and placed in a convenient niche within
 " the church, would not excite the same
 " good thoughts, and good remembrances in
 " their minds, that the picture did; the
 " colours of which would, in time, fade
 " much, and wear away; and hearing no-
 " thing to the contrary, he set it up, and
 " was commended for his zeal and bene-
 " faction by them: And great gazing there
 " was at it; none of them making any ex-
 " ception to an *image*, which they could
 " not make to a *picture*; both seem'd alike
 " innocent, alike useful, and alike proper
 " to excite good thoughts, and devout af-
 " fections in the minds of such as look'd on
 " them.

" It was not long after, that a man of
 " quality and great wealth, ordered the sta-
 " tuary to make the finest image he could
 " of *Christ* our Lord, and fix it on a *cross*,
 " with all the marks of sorrow, and most
 " painful agonies that could be possibly ex-
 " pressed in such a work, and place it in the
 " *eastern light*, towards which he saw the
 " people generally turn in their acts of wor-
 " ship. This was accordingly done, and the
 " people were very fond of this *new help* to
 " *their*

" *their devotion. Here was the king of saints*
 " *himself, they said; here they were hourly*
 " *put in mind of their sins, which cost their*
 " *Saviour all the bitter pains he underwent*
 " *upon the cross, for their redemption,*
 " *which were so lively expressed in this good*
 " *image, that they could never view it well,*
 " *without compunction of heart within, and*
 " *knocking of their breasts without, and*
 " *other tokens of repentance. The gentle-*
 " *man's wife, and eldest son, besought him,*
 " *out of pure devotion, that our Lord might*
 " *not be worse attended in the church, than*
 " *he was upon mount Calvary; and hereupon*
 " *there was another image made to represent*
 " *his most afflicted mother, and placed on his*
 " *right side; and another on his left, namely*
 " *his most beloved disciple John, for so it was*
 " *found to be in the gospel; and thus the*
 " *church was furnished with books for the*
 " *laity to read and meditate upon; and it*
 " *was not long before they bowed their*
 " *heads; incensed them, and kneeled and*
 " *said their prayers before them. Under the*
 " *statue of the patron-saint, was his tomb of*
 " *black marble, in which the precious re-*
 " *liques of this holy martyr were deposited,*
 " *i. e. the bones that were not burnt to*
 " *ashes, together with some ashes of his bo-*
 " *dy that had been consumed by fire: At*
 " *this tomb the people chose to say their*
 " *prayers rather than in any other part of the*
 " *church, because that they had heard that*
 " the

" the saint himself had kneeled in the place
 " where his tomb stood, when he offered
 " up his life to God. This tomb the peo-
 " ple prayed at constantly for whatever they
 " wanted at God's hands. One prayed for
 " a sick child, and another for a dying hus-
 " band, and another for the cure of a dis-
 " ease, under which she had long laboured:
 " And it so pleased God that their prayers
 " were heard, and granted in their several
 " kinds; and then it came into their heads,
 " that their prayers were the *rather* heard
 " for their being put up at the tomb of
 " this good saint; and that more peo-
 " ple had been heard in what they asked,
 " at this tomb, than in any other place or part
 " of the church; and when they reasoned a-
 " mong themselves how, or why this should
 " be? *they were told*, that God might intend
 " thereby to glorify his saints, and to shew
 " how precious their death was in his sight:
 " And there were some, who doubted not to
 " affirm, that the saint himself did certainly
 " intercede with God, in their behalf; for
 " who (said they) can think that the saints
 " in heaven should sit and do nothing?
 " And can they do any thing better and
 " more befitting them, than pray for those
 " who live on earth, and want all manner
 " of comfort and assistance? And can any
 " prayers be more acceptable to God, than
 " such as the church triumphant puts up
 " for their fellow-members of the church
 " militant;

" militant? And can any prayers be sooner
 " heard, than what his favourite saints who
 " died for the truth, put up? And when
 " it was *made so clear, by these deductions,*
 " that the saints did undoubtedly intercede
 " with God for their fellow-christians on
 " the earth, it was very easy for the people
 " then to ask of God, that he would grant
 " them their requests, *at and for* the inter-
 " cession, more especially of these saints, his
 " faithful servants, whose merits might pre-
 " vail for what their own unworthiness had
 " made them neither dare to ask, nor fit to
 " receive. And when these people had, at
 " any time, received at God's hands, what
 " they had asked through the intercession of
 " the saints, it was very natural, for igno-
 " rant unthinking heads, to conclude, that
 " God had truly granted what they had
 " asked, for the sake of that saint's inter-
 " cession; which yet is no consequence at
 " all, since God *might grant* it, for his own
 " mercies sake, and through the intercession
 " of his ever blessed son: But this the peo-
 " ple did not mind; the saints intercession
 " was the means they used last, and having
 " found, as they thought, the effects of it,
 " they looked no farther. But things did
 " not long stand here; the people were not
 " content to pray to God, to grant them
 " what they wanted, for the merit's sake,
 " and at the intercession of the saints, but
 " they pray'd to those very saints themselves,

R

" that

" that they would intercede with God to
 " grant them what they wanted. This was
 " *a wide step* indeed, and a great change.
 " The passage from the one practice to the
 " other, was not easy, natural, or conse-
 " quential; but *superstition* got over it quick-
 " ly, and fancied there was but *a little dif-*
 " *ference* betwixt peoples praying to God
 " to hear the saints praying for them, and
 " the praying to the saints that they would
 " pray to God for them; whereas there is
 " the widest difference in the world betwixt
 " those two prayers: the one is directed to
 " God, the sole proper object, omnipresent
 " and omnipotent; the other to *creatures*
 " only present in one place, and of them-
 " selves able to do nothing. But these were
 " scruples that never troubled those good
 " people; they had a faith *that swallowed*
 " *every thing*, and seemed not to value con-
 " sequences at all. To the tomb they came,
 " and pray'd the saint to pray to God for
 " whatever good things they wanted; and
 " when this practice came to be contested a
 " little, it was justified, as done out of pure
 " *humility*, because they were unworthy to
 " approach to God by prayer themselves
 " in person, and therefore did it by the me-
 " diation of saints their intercessors. Well
 " in some reasonable time, instead of pray-
 " ing the saint to pray to God to give them
 " this or that, they came to praying the saint
 " directly and downright to bestow this or

" that

that blessing on them *himself*: They thought it was too much round about, to say, *O Apollonia, pray to God to cure me of the tooth-ach*, and they said directly, *O Apollonia, cure me, I beseech thee, of the tooth-ach*. But being hard put to it to defend this practice, they said they meant no more but to intreat her to pray to God for them; and all the good writers of that corrupt church of *Rome*, who have any sense or virtue left, desire to have all the prayers that are put up to the saints, to be understood to mean no more than a bare *ora pro nobis*, or, — *pray for us*. But my design was not to dispute about any thing, but to shew how one practice draws on another, not near so innocent as the first, till at length they come to things ridiculous, absurd, and never to be justified. — And whosoever reads with any observation, will find it was, at first, the single opinion or single practice of some private man (and perhaps a very good man too) that laid the foundation of all the superstitious practices that prevail amongst the corrupt part of christians, now in the world. They were at first *innocent enough*, and for a while they continued *tolerable*; but by degrees, and adding one thing to another, they came at last to the *bas* we now see them in; and who can tell what time the impositions of private fanatics are to be withstood, if not at first?

244 *The OLD WHIG.* N^o 2

" And can any one tell where they w
" stop, if private men may not withsta
" them?"



N U M B. XXVIII.

To the OLD WHIG.

NOVEMBER 4, 17

*Quem vocet divum populus ruentis
Imperi rebus?*

HOR

S I R,

WHILST yet an OLD WHIG
mains in *Britain*; whilst one
yet erects a statue to NASSAU; this day
never want its honours. Our country
our liberty restored, must warm our hearts
with gratitude to heaven; and the glorious
memory of the great king WILLIAM
be indeed immortal in every breast, while
yet a spark of virtue is left unextinguished.

FROM you, Sir, on this occasion, we
pect to hear how this auspicious day is cele
brated; that whilst we rejoice in the pre
val

tion of our laws and liberties, we may also have the pleasure of knowing, that we have some friends, who dare shew themselves their supporters.

BUT, Sir, whilst we rejoice that these invaluable blessings yet remain, let us not forget how liable they are to be destroyed. Whilst we remember, with pleasure, the wisdom and courage of our friends, let us not forget the subtlety and malice of our enemies. Can we be blind to the attempts of persecution? Or deaf to the continual charges of heresy and infidelity, against all who dare oppose it?

'TIS no wonder, those who would be in the place of *Gods*, should be angry to be treated like frail *Men*; but it is to many a paradox, that the *lay gens*, who seem to have nothing to gain by slavery but the chain, should be so ready to bow the neck to the yoke, and so grievously offended with those who would ease them from it. It seems so absurd, that a free agent should submit to be enslaved, that the vulgar are apt to conclude, that all dominion which they don't remember the beginning of, must needs have been founded in right. They imagine it impossible, that a being, whose only excellence is a voluntary obedience to the laws of nature and the voice of reason, should divest itself of freedom; and become, merely through his own choice, or through his own indolence, the property of a frail arbitrary creature, more imperfect than himself.

himself. Hence it comes to pass, that where ever antiquity is of the side of slavery, men are apt to judge, there must have been justice in a claim which has been submitted to so long. Hence have arose fables of patriarchal governments, and social compacts made, nobody knows how or when, to amuse mankind in temporal affairs ; and hence likewise hierarchical powers have been claimed and submitted to in spiritual affairs.

It may be of some use therefore, to shew the world the propensity there is in man to slavery, and from whence it springs. The cursed *weed*, which God never planted *rooted* in vice ; *nourished* in luxury ; whose *bloom* is superstition ; whose *fruit* is misery. Whence comes it, that this *bramble* has stretched out its branches to heaven, and has well nigh overshadow'd the whole earth ?

If we look back, even as far as the earliest times, we shall find mankind seeking for fetters, as if they were ornamental. The *Jews* had a law given them by God, prophets for their judges, the miraculous interposition of heaven for their continual defence. One would have imagin'd this people in a land flowing with milk and honey, reposed every man under his own vine and his own fig tree, would have rejoiced in their freedom or at least have made a shift to have been content. Nay ! but make us a king : Why ? Even for the wise reason, because it is the fashion ; make us a king like the nations round

round about us. The expostulations of God and his prophet, were too weak to stem the tide against so cogent an argument. Not all the terrors of slavery set before their eyes with the most divine energy, not the sacred and most solemn assurance, that their sons should be slaves and their daughters concubines, could hinder them from doing what the rest of the world did.

ROME was no sooner freed from the oppression and lust of the *Tarquins* by *Brutus*, the avenger of chastity, but even whilst the tyrants were threatening an invasion, supported by a foreign aid, a conspiracy was formed to restore them. The most considerable families in *Rome* were corrupted with the treason; even that of *Brutus* was infected. *Livy* gives us a most elegant account of this conspiracy, well worth our attention. There were, says he, amongst the *Roman* youths, some of no mean extraction, but of dissolute lives, who had been bred up with the *Tarquins*, and accustomed to a court life. When these men found that by an equal law their licentiousness was restrained, they loudly complained, that by their country's being made free, they were enslaved.

* *REGEM hominem esse, a quo impetres, ubi jus, ubi injuria opus sit; esse gratiæ locum, esse beneficio; & irasci, & ignoscere posse; inter amicum atq; inimicum discrimen nosse: Leges, rem surdam inexorabilem esse, salubriorem*

R 4

* Meaning an arbitrary king, as were the *Tarquins*.

briorem melioremq; inopi quam potenti ; nihil laxamenti nec veniæ habere, si modum excesseris ; periculosum esse in tot humanis erroribus solæ innocentiae vivere.

THUS does *Livy* shew us the springs of this, and all other conspiracies against liberty, and of all indolence in its defence. 'Tis impossible for vice to indulge itself with impunity under an equal law : It is very hard and dangerous, for vitious men, amidst so many frailties and temptations, to have nothing to depend on for their protection, but their innocence.

HOWEVER *Rome* had groaned under the oppression of the *Tarquins*, however unreasonable and detestable this conspiracy may appear, 'tis probable it would have succeeded, and slavery been again established ; if there had not been in *Rome* a *Brutus*, a *Clælia*, a *Scævola* ; and *Porfena* himself been a convert to *Roman* virtue.

BUT indeed, when we consider the transactions of this glorious day, we need seek no foreign history to trace the infamous seeds of slavery ; nor do we want examples of *Roman* virtue, to rouse the indolent out of their lethargy.

IF on the one hand, we find the luxury of king *Charles's* court, introducing the tyranny of king *James* ; on the other, we see the truly glorious king *WILLIAM* exposing himself to all the hazards of war and clamours of

of faction, to restore and secure to his people the blessings of liberty.

AND let me add, that as oft as this illustrious object rises to our view, we cannot but think, with indignation, on the vileness of those who would rob us of all the benefits of the Revolution, and king WILLIAM's glorious legacy. Surely if *Britain* freed demands the statue, the attempts of these men no less deserve the rods and axes.

AND upon inquiry it will be found, vice and luxury are not more certainly and plainly the foundations of civil tyranny, than they are of that which is spiritual. The law of the gospel is too equal for vitious men ; it is with regard to the next world, as well as this, dangerous for so frail beings to owe their protection and safety to nothing but their innocence. Let us therefore have spiritual tyrants, the favourites of heaven ; that we may offend, and get pardons ; that we may be angry, and our anger be felt : The law of God may be freedom to the virtuous, but it is to us slavery ; it is safer for the poor than the rich ; let us have mediators and interpreters, that can give a gloss to our vice, and find us out substitutes for virtue. It may be well for the poor and virtuous to hold fast the liberty, with which they have been made free ; but for us, we had better submit to governors, who have been our equals and companions in vice. They will make favourable allowances ; they'll make
con-

convenient expositions and abatements; make the law swerve a little to serve a turn; they will procure and dispense pardons, on terms we like, and damn those whom we like not.

FROM hence the claims of hierarchy arose; from hence they are supported; and hence the calumnies of heresy and infidelity find countenance where it is impossible for them to obtain belief. Hark, hear the INFIDEL, says C---x. No such matter. If this spiritual tyranny of priests, this insult on religion, is not plainly foretold in the new testament, I want indeed an interpreter. But if it is clearly described and threatned, as was the kingly oppression to the *Jews* in the old, where's the infidelity in believing the prophecies to be fulfill'd? If a strange thing is brought to pass in the land, if the prophets have prophesy'd falsely, and the priests have bore sway by their means, and the people would have it so, who are the *Infidels*? Those who regard the prophets rather than their God; or those who believe it is, as the scriptures say, a strange and horrid thing? I am,

S I R,

Your's, &c.

HUGO DE BURGO.

To the OLD WHIG.

S I R,

I THINK the *Daily Gazeteer* of this day deserves the notice of the *Old Whig*. After he has set out the power the church, or, as he affects to call it, *the antient hierarcy* of this kingdom, had in former days, in its true colours, as most *arbitrary*, bloody, and oppressive; Mr. OSBORNE gives the true reason why it was so *wicked* and oppressive *in itself*, and *dreadful to the people*; even because *the antient hierarcy claim'd and exercised a power independent of the civil*. And after he has sufficiently exposed the claims of the *antient hierarcy*, he tells us, what an infinite difference there is between the ecclesiastical part of our constitution in those days and in ours. He seems indeed to say, *our present ecclesiastical constitution is not quite perfect, not intirely Protestant*: For to be perfectly Protestant, there should, he says, *be no civil incapacity, on account of opinions or practices meerly religious, nor any courts of judicature but the civil courts*. Some things he seems to think concerning *tythes* and *fines* want settling; and when these things are done, he says, *our ecclesiastical constitution would be compleat*.

I DON'T pretend to criticise on so able a writer as Mr. OSBORNE. But I know there are persons who imagine, whilst there is a great
increase

increase of wealth and lands in *mortmain*, and advowsons daily purchasing by *spiritual corporations*, as I affect to call them; the ecclesiastical constitution, as he calls it, is still not so compleat as the state of human affairs would admit.

BUT Mr. OSBORNE proceeds to assert, that *the dreadful independence of the church, with all its train of dismal consequences is at an end*: That we are safe in our persons and properties, and in our souls too; for those theological scarecrows, *heresy and schism*, are at an end too. This is very good news. I wish it may be altogether true. I think it would ease you of a great deal of trouble, and bring your work into a much narrower compass. But I fear Mr. OSBORNE is so much taken up with politics, that he is not quite instructed in the state of this matter. He can't think the *plan* laid down in the *preface* of the CODEX is given up already; nor will he, sure, venture to reckon the adherers to that *scheme* amongst the bigots he talks of. I think I have heard there is a defence of *it* now just ready to be published. I think the author of it has some power left to help forward its execution. I think I have heard of a *tytbe bill* thrown out by it; an *ecclesiastical court bill* amended away by it: They say that Dr. R. is not B. of G—, but that he is actually now in *Ireland*. Pray be so good as to inform us the truth of these matters, or get Mr. OS-

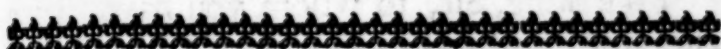
BORNE

N^o 29. *The OLD WHIG.* 253

BORNE to do it. For I know many friends of the government do not quite understand how these affairs are. I am,

Your's,

RUSTICK DOUBTFUL.



N U M B. XXIX.

*A Letter to Dr. WATERLAND,
occasion'd by his List of Funda-
mentals.*

— *Hæ nugæ seria ducent*
In mala. —

HOR.

Reverend Sir,

ALTHO' you have claimed the high prerogative and extensive power, of
(*) *fixing the terms of communion with the
several denominations of christians ; and pre-
tended to do this with sufficient certainty ;
and have thereby exalted the archdeacon of
Middlesex into a sovereign and infallible pon-
tiff :*

(*) p. 61.

tiff: yet as your power is still disputed, and not as yet fixed by the sacred sanction of an act of parliament; permit me, Sir, as a *Consistent Protestant*, to enter my protest against so bold an usurpation, and as an *Old Whig*, to expostulate with you on the true high church imposing and tyrannical spirit which you have herein discovered.

THE king, Sir, to whom you have sworn allegiance, and whom you have solemnly acknowledged as *supreme head* of the church, is your proper bishop, and the universal pastor and overseer of the church of England. The parliament of Great Britain are his council, and by them the terms of communion are already fixed: Terms, Sir, by which you must be concluded; and with which if any person complies, neither you, Sir, nor Dr. C—y, nor any clergyman whatsoever, can be justified in refusing to admit him to your communion^(b); even though he should not pretend to believe that the FATHER^(c) is the PRINCIPAL person, and the SON is the CHIEF person, concerned in the christian covenant. You do indeed *humbly conceive*, you may fix the terms of communion for the several denominations of christians; but you must pardon me, if I tell you that the laws of England have not annex'd such a prerogative to the archdeaconry of *Middlesex*, nor as yet subjected the crown to the mitre, nor made the exorbitant dictates of a few con-

(b) p. 15. (c) p. 18, 19.

conceited bigots equal to acts of parliament. *Church and king* may be quite *canonical* language at a visitation feast : But whilst the laws of *England* remain, and the *British* spirit is not quite depressed ; you may be *popes* in imagination and *tyrants* in temper, but our kings shall be your *heads*, and our laws secure every faithful subject from that oppressive dominion which you so plainly and openly wish for over their liberties and consciences.

FOR why should I call by a milder name, that power you claim to *fix the terms of communion with the several denominations of christians* ? To this you have not the shadow of a right as a minister of the church of *England*. Your commission, Sir, produce it if you can. I am a sort of a *church governor*, you'll tell the world ; I am archdeacon of *Middlesex*. Allowed Sir. But how came the archdeacon of *Middlesex* to conceive, that he had a right to fix the terms of communion with the several denominations of christians ? Sir, Dr. *Waterland* is against the ^(d) *archdeacon* in this point : For, says the Doctor, we must *maintain truth and godliness in the face of the world, every man according to his abilities, and according to the station wherein God hath placed him*. Your abilities and station are the things you should remember ; and how favourable soever an opinion I may have of the former, yet as your station, Sir, is but that of a presbyter, among a
single

single denomination of christians, and confin'd to a single archdeaconry, 'tis *very humbly conceived* indeed, that *you* can fix the terms of communion with all the several denominations of christians.

BUT, Sir, you'll forgive me, if I question your abilities for, as well as right to, the exercise of this papal power ^(e); and take the liberty to hint to you, that as you have absolutely discarded the sacred scriptures ^(f) from being the judge in fundamentals, and plainly asserted, that *scripture doth not, strictly speaking, contain all fundamental truths*, and that ^(g) *express texts of scripture may OFTEN MISLEAD US*; so you have in that particular list of fundamentals which you have set forth ^(h), ran into very dangerous assertions, contrary to truth and reason, the doctrine of christianity, and the very articles of that church which you have solemnly subscribed. And,

I. YOUR reasoning is very inconclusive and fallacious; and you draw inferences from *metaphorical expressions*, tho' you allow this is ⁽ⁱ⁾ *not so clear a ground to build an argument upon*. Thus, because the christian religion is represented under the notion of a *covenant*, you infer there must be a ^(k) *founder and principal covenanter*; and hence you infer farther, as a very evident point, that *the existence of a deity is a fundamental article*.

(e) p. 36.

(f) p. 35.

(g) p. 39.

(h) p. 51.

(i) p. 21.

(k) p. 15.

ticle. I am not about to contest with you whether the existence of a deity be not a fundamental article of the christian religion; doubtless it is so of all religion, natural or revealed: But I am surprised that any christian divine should choose to rest the truth and importance of this article on an inference drawn from a metaphorical expression. See, Sir, how it would sound in a like case. *The kingdom of God, or the christian religion, is like a grain of mustard-seed, which a man took and cast into his garden, and it grew, and waxed a great tree, and the fowls of the air lodged in the branches of it.* Hence, I also infer, like you ⁽¹⁾ that *the first article to be considered in the affair of this mustard-tree is the sower of this mustard-seed; for without this there could be no such mustard-tree as is here supposed.* Hence it is evident, that *the existence of a deity is a fundamental article.* This is your reasoning; and that you were conscious, that the christian religion doth not exactly answer to the notion of a covenant, and needed some strictures to clear it, is evident from your sending your readers to Baron Puffendorff, ^(m) for the explication. It would have been natural for a christian divine to have referred them to the word of God. But you were afraid the *express text would mislead them*, and therefore sent them to the Baron as a surer guide than the infallible Spirit of God. The same acute and
S just

⁽¹⁾ p. 15.

^(m) *Ibid.* Note 1.

just method of reasoning you pursue in drawing out several other of your fundamentals; and thereby shew how fit you are to be trusted with drawing inferences for the several denominations of christians.

2. YOUR fundamentals are *fundamentally repugnant* some of them to the other, and to what you have taught in several places of your *discourse of fundamentals*. Under article the first, you speak of a *founder and principal covenant*, *without which*, (°) you affirm, *there could be no such covenant as you suppose*, viz. a *covenant made with mankind by God the father*. So that here you affirm, that the founder and principal covenant is God the father. And yet, under article the 4th, you expressly say, that the mediator is (p) *the chief person of the covenant, upon whom our salvation depends*. But if the founder and principal covenant be, as he must be, the chief person of the covenant; the asserting God the father to be the *principal covenant*, and the one mediator between God and man to be the *chief* person of the covenant, is to affirm and deny that God the father is the principal covenant.

AGAIN, in article the third, you affirm that (q) *the sacred oracles are the charter of the foundation* of the covenant, or at least (r) *the only authentic instrument of conveyance*. And yet you evidently deny this, when you assert

(°) p. 15. (p) p. 18, 19. (q) p. 17. (r) p. 35.

assert, that ^(f) *the scriptures do not contain all fundamental truths*; that ^(t) *that may be fundamental which the scriptures have not bound upon us under pain of damnation, or exclusion from christian communion*; and that *the importance of any doctrine, is not to be judged of merely from the declarations of scripture concerning its necessity*. Now if the sacred oracles are *the charter of foundation* of the covenant, they must declare to us what this covenant is, what God hath covenanted to do for men, and upon what conditions he hath covenanted to bestow on them the blessings he hath promised them. Otherwise you must allow, that that may be a part of the charter which is not contained in it; that a condition of the covenant, which the covenant hath not made so. And is not this gross self-contradiction to affirm, that the sacred oracles are the sole charter of the christian covenant, and yet deny that they contain all the fundamental truths of this covenant? If the christian religion be a covenant, and the oracles of God the only charter of it, methinks, Sir, you should remember that *no man can disannul or add thereto*. And yet you leave it as a matter at large to the governors of the church, ^(v) *to draw out fundamentals as often as they see occasion, and to add to the charter and covenant of God at their liberty and pleasure*.

S 2

3 YOUR

^(f) P. 39. ^(t) P. 40. ^(v) P. 24.

3. YOUR assertion under article 4th, that the mediator (*) is the chief person of the covenant, is contrary to the whole doctrine of scripture, and a subversion of the intire scheme of christianity. Did our blessed Saviour teach you this, when he said, *My father is greater than I*? Or when he said, *I can of my own self do nothing: I seek not my own will, but the will of the father which hath sent me*? Or did you learn it from Paul, who says, that *there is one God, even the FATHER OF ALL, who is ABOVE ALL, and in you all, and thro' all*; and who uniformly ascribes our being chosen in Christ, our predestination to the adoption of children, our obtaining the forgiveness of our sins, and, in a word, our being blessed with all spiritual blessings, to the riches of the grace of the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ? Review, I beseech you, Sir, your divinity; and tho' you have rejected scripture as the rule of your own fundamentals, think not to impose on Protestants, as fundamentals of christianity, doctrines that plainly subvert those very fundamentals.

4. UNDER article the 2d, you affirm the doctrine of *free-will* to be a fundamental verity, and thereby charge several of those articles, which you have solemnly subscribed as true, with being fundamentally erroneous. I know, Sir, you have very cautiously expressed your self on this head, and asserted

(*) p. 19.

in man only such a freedom of will as is sufficient to denominate him a moral agent, apt to discern between good and evil, and choosing which he pleases. But even this sufficiency of free-will, this aptness to choose good or evil as a man pleases, is contrary to the articles you have subscribed, and the homilies you have approved, as containing godly and wholesome doctrine. The article of original sin affirms, man is of his own nature inclined to evil, so that the flesh lusteth always contrary to the spirit. The next article of free-will is more express, which saith, that the condition of man after the fall of Adam is such, that he cannot turn and prepare himself by his natural strength and good works, to faith and calling on God. Wherefore we have no power to do good works pleasant or acceptable to God. Now, how is a man apt to choose good, who of his own nature is inclined to evil, and who cannot turn and prepare himself to faith and calling on God by his own natural strength? Is a man apt to choose good, who hath no power to do it? And is not the only aptness of a man's nature to choose good according to these articles, an aptness neither to choose nor do it?

THE godly and wholesome doctrine of the Homilies is exactly to the same purpose, and if possible more express. In the second homily of man's misery, we are told that, of our selves we are nothing but sinful, and

that we are not able to cleanse our selves ; and in very expressive metaphors, that of our selves we be crab-trees that can bring forth no apples ; that we be of our selves such earth, as can but bring forth weeds, nettles, brambles, briars, cockle and darnels. Now, Sir, what aptness can there be in that earth, which can but bring forth nettles and brambles, to bring forth pinks and roses ? What aptness in a crab-tree to produce any thing but varjuice ? Verily, Doctor, 'tis godly and wholesome doctrine, that of our selves we be crab-trees that can bring forth no apples, without the ingraftings of grace. How is it then that you tell us, that the doctrine of free-will, as it implies an aptness to choose good or evil as a man pleases, is a fundamental verity, and that to disown it is to err fundamentally ? Do our articles and homilies then maintain fundamental errors ? Is it thus you seek the honour of our church ? This your sincerity in your subscriptions ?

I INTENDED to have gone farther, and shewn that several of your articles are *ambiguous* and *obscure* ; and, what is yet worse, that you avow and maintain *the very essence of popery*, even the *distinguishing* doctrines of that antichristian superstition. But the defence of *popery* in your own terms, and upon the principles you have espoused, will be a curiosity that possibly I may think worth a distinct paper. In the mean while, pardon the freedom of an *Old Whig* and a
Con-

Consistent Protestant, and disdain not for once to take his advice. Review *your discourse of fundamentals*, and when you next republish it, throw away your *weeds and nettles*; and don't imagine you can thrust *your four crabs* down the throats of the laity. It is your duty to feed the flock with wholesome fruit, that may nourish them up to eternal life.



N U M B. XXX.

To the OLD WHIG.

— *Quam venuste! quod dedit
Principium adveniens! —*

TERENT. Eunuch.

S I R,

YOU must have observed amongst all *animals*, a great curiosity to inquire after every stranger which happens to get among them. Amongst *birds* this is carry'd so far as to be almost impertinent; so intense is their observation, and so clamorous their criticism, that I have seen a poor *owl*, that has happen'd to blunder into daylight, most unreasonably baited by these inhabitants of sun-shine, before she could re-

cover her natural state of obscurity. *Dogs*, who are more civiliz'd animals in this matter, observe a more just decorum; for tho' they usually make use of all senses to examine a new comer, they take their leave in a decent time, and commonly with a salutation after the *Hottentot* fashion. Amongst mankind this curiosity is not wanting: From the school to the senate-house every one undergoes an inquisition; but none so severe as those who entertain mankind with their labours: Even those, whose works are given *gratis* weekly to the publick, have not been able to escape. I am so affected with the fate I have seen *Journals* and *Courants*, *Gazetteers* and *Miscellanies* undergo, and the ingratitude of their readers; that I have resolved in charity, to deliver one new writer of this kind from the common catastrophe, and by a gentle criticism on the performance, rescue it from ruder hands. The performance I have before me, Sir, is intitled, *The occasional paper upon the subject of religion and the church establishment, and the present attempts against them, No. I. shewing the true notion of liberty, and that a church establishment is not only no prejudice, but a real advantage to it.*

OUR author's judgment is to be admir'd in the choice of his words, even in the title. His changing the terms *THE church-establishment*, by which he would be understood to mean the church of *England*, attended with eccle-

ecclesiastical jurisdiction and hierarchical powers, and perhaps not forgetting the candidates recommended in the *preface* of the C—x, into that of *A church establishment*, in his promise to shew that it may be consistent with liberty : This is a very pretty finess, and not injudicious. Nor does he less deserve commendation for his addressing his work to a *very honest gentleman*, who has for some time lived out of town. His being *very honest*, will doubtless incline him to believe the representations of our author ; and his *distance from town* may secure him from any ill impressions from other quarters. Had our author address'd himself to one in the scene of action, where facts and books are common subjects of conversation, it would have been impossible to have supposed him writing seriously ; when the attempts against liberty are represented as mere bug-bears, creatures of the brain, the fiction of gentlemen who have points to carry, &c. Had his patron lived in town, he would have heard at least, of a famous *preface*, to a more famous work ; laying a plan, and recommending the execution of it, to subvert the whole constitution ; to establish an ecclesiastical jurisdiction, independent of the temporal ; to have spiritual courts send prohibitions to our judges, and marry our children for us. But, it seems, 'tis our happiness that this was not wrote by our *superior in the church*, and that the author meets with

no countenance in the state ^(a); else indeed, even our author must have own'd *his condemnation just and reasonable*. Nor would this *occasional writer's* boast of a toleration to Protestants have kept him in countenance, if he had wrote to one who was acquainted, that prosecutions were now carried on against dissenters, for their educating their children, and with the threats which have been scattered round the kingdom. The inquisition ^(b) into the state, numbers, and circumstances of all men whatsoever, dissenting from the church; protestant dissenters as well as others; and particularly, whether they had in all things conform'd themselves to law, and qualify'd themselves to pray, or preach, or instruct youth according to law, would not have left him room to name even the word *toleration*. When the sword is drawn, any man of this world, who is not a *very honest* gentleman, will be apt to think the assault begun; tho' we may hope from our superiors in church and state, that they will take effectual measures to prevent its success. The body of this excellent work is chiefly fill'd

^(a) p. 13.

^(b) Amongst other queries which have been handed about in several parts of the kingdom, these are some:
 “ Are there any protestant dissenters in your parish?
 “ How many? Of what denomination? Have they
 “ one or more meeting-houses? Are those meeting-
 “ houses licensed? What are the names of their teach-
 “ ers? And are they duly qualified according to the
 “ act of indulgence?”

with censures on your self, which makes me assured of its favourable acceptance from you, and hope you will excuse the more easily my want of severity in my observations on it. He accuses you in the first place, of having abused the greatest men of the last and present ages, who were the supports of the happy revolution, zealous defenders of our civil liberty, friends and members of the established church, and at the same time desirous the dissenters should enjoy a toleration. This charge is a beautiful surprize on the reader in the beginning of the work ; raises the attention, and our author makes a good use of it ; for he carries you thro' the whole work before he mentions any of the persons you have abused. I was indeed a little at a loss what to say for him, when I found they were *Laud* and *Bancroft* ; not that I ever disputed those great men to have been zealous defenders of our civil liberties, &c. but I could not well tell how he came to reckon them the supports of the happy revolution. But I suppose our author being a little heated in his imagination, may consider them reviv'd in the present age, and abused by you under the character of *Whigs in state*, tho' *Tories in the church*. Tho' this may perhaps, by a severer critic, be thought too great a luxuriance of fancy for a prose writer ; yet it ought to serve you for a caution against drawing general characters, which may sometimes offend particular persons.

OUR

OUR author's next charge is, that you have represented the measures taken for the support of the whole constitution in the odious colours of *tyranny and persecution*; and to give the deeper wound, as *destructive of the natural rights of mankind*. An ill-natured critic would have called this an anti-climax, and hugg'd himself as if he got the quintessence of the *bathos*. How would *Dennis* have exclaim'd! So (would he have said) I suppose *tyranny and oppression* are not *destructive of the natural rights of mankind*. But you, Sir, will consider who are the readers this work is intended for; and then you will be of opinion with me, that this is by no means an absurd expression. *Tyranny and oppression* are, in their language, not at all *destructive of the natural rights of mankind*, but rather real advantages to liberty. There's one thing I really myself know not how to account for, and that is, why our author should be so much concern'd at any measures being represented as *destructive of our natural rights*, when he tells us in a very few pages after, that we have none, that we have given them up by our entrance in society; and so, he says, said good Mr. *Locke*. I fear this is rather an incorrectness of a warm imagination: Being a little heated with the scene, and finding *natural rights*, like Mr. *Bays's* dead men, incumber him too much, he has made them walk off a little too abruptly.

Our

Our author has not thought fit to acquaint us what sentiments or conduct, in the support of the *whole* constitution, you have thus vilified : So it remains upon you to examine your self, and make such a confession as may be satisfactory. But he has judiciously enough avoided saying, what he meant by our *whole* constitution : For if he had explained himself to have meant only the executive and legislative powers, acting according to their respective relations and authority, he would have been perhaps drawn into some dispute before he could have fixed it home on you, that you had abused any measures which might conduce to their support. And, on the other hand, if he had been more open, and told us, he meant every law, usage and custom, however made or obtain'd, and particularly, every branch of ecclesiastical power, whether acknowledged, or contended for ; every Form of worship now in use, every habit, gesture, or ceremony, which are at this day to be met with, in any part of our church ; he would have found some difficulty how to have reconciled the sentiments and conduct of the good archbishop Tillotson, whose piety, candour, and humanity, will render him dear to the friends of religion, truth, and liberty, with the support of what he calls, the *whole* constitution, tho' revised by our good friends *Laud* and *Bancroft*.

I WON'T, Sir, detain you longer with pointing out the particular beauties of this valuable work. What I have already shew'd you, will, I am sure, recommend it to your perusal. You will find the substance of it to be an argument to prove, That our natural rights are given up by our entrance into society : That an establish'd religion, whether true or false, *Pagan, Mahometan,* or Christian, is beneficial to society : That society has therefore a right to determine, which of them shall be preach'd at the publick expence : That to support that expence and religion, there must be an establishment : That the church of *England*, therefore, as by law established, is not only no prejudice, but really advantageous to liberty : That a toleration is indeed reasonable for persons that happen to differ in sentiments from the majority ; therefore, the *Act of Toleration* is a sufficient indulgence, and security to all persons of whatever denomination, that their civil liberties shall never be invaded on any pretence of religion. This piece also will inform you, that there are a set of men, that have points of their own to carry ; who design to subvert our whole constitution, to root out the very name of religion and law, that they, by being consider'd as patrons of liberty, may carry these points ; and you will find, which is most extraordinary, that our author has so warm'd his imagination with the

the fiction, that he is almost persuaded that it is a reality, and that the subversive scheme will take effect. Against which event he has wisely provided, by assuring us, that in case any particular circumstances of our constitution will admit of advantageous alterations, he is for having these amendments proposed and effected. (*) Thus has this author join'd the sagacity of the *griffin* to the harmlessness of the *dove*. I am, SIR,

Your old Friend,

(*) p. 18.

HUGO DE BURGO.

N U M B. XXXI.

Clament etiam similiter ecclesiæ septem orientales ad quas scribit Apostolus Johannes, et dicant, quid vobis fecimus fratres? Quare CHRISTIANI cum CHRISTIANIS pacem habere non vultis? Quare in nobis COMMUNIA SACRAMENTA rescinditis?

AUGUST.

WHEN we consider the excellency and perfection of the christian religion, its suitableness to the circumstances of

of mankind, and that the observation of its precepts and sublime rules of life is most exactly calculated to promote the true dignity, and highest happiness of human nature ; we must be deeply concerned to see the *wise and friendly* design of it in so perverse and shameful a manner defeated, by the inexorable stiffness of *bigotry*, the insatiables of *enthusiasm*, and the extravagancies of *party-zeal*. It must, to a generous mind, be matter of very uneasy reflection, that the substantial principles of justice, truth, and mercy, which are eternal laws of nature, and so strongly inculcated by the gospel, should be infring'd and violated for the sake of the outward *trappings* and *imaginary decorations* of religion, and of *crabbed, incomprehensible, confounding speculations*. And 'tis natural to inquire, how two such *strange* things should so frequently happen, against the dictates both of revelation, and common sense ; as that piety, righteousness, and christian simplicity of manners, should be esteem'd points of no moment, in comparison with being *orderly* in *trifles*, and swallowing down the subtilties of *metaphysics* ; and that the professors of a religion, the genius of which is mild and amiable, breathing nothing but generosity, peace, and moderation, should have such a fatal propensity to split and fall off in parties, *defying* and *excommunicating* each other.

IN

IN some 'tis occasion'd by *prejudices of education*, incorporated into the mind, and improv'd and *stiffen'd* to a habit which make them inflexibly tenacious of, and zealous for, the principles they *first* imbib'd, as for sacred and immutable truths. In others, it may proceed from *selfishness*, which appropriates respect and honour to a certain set of opinions, and pours odium and contempt on the maintainers and abettors of opposite sentiments, to secure a *popular* influence, and engross the *profits* of orthodoxy. In others, again, it springs from *pride*: And these, if you scruple to pay them the compliment of submitting to their wiser judgments, think themselves grievously affronted; and come to this *pettish* conclusion, that since you refuse to be so passive and obsequious, as to embrace the notions of christianity which they approve and *authorise*, you shall not be allow'd to be christians at all.

— BUT there is nothing that can be so justly fix'd, as the root of bigotry and narrowness of mind, with respect to the body of the CHRISTIAN PEOPLE, (who are amus'd and blinded by sophistry, and manag'd by artifice) as ignorance of the *true* nature, *uniform* ground, and *just* extent of CHRISTIAN COMMUNION. And to cure and eradicate this evil, it will not be enough to shew what is *wrong*, and expose *false* rules; but they must be enabled to discern what is *right*; what is the sure foundation

T

dation

dition and law of *christian fellowship*, resulting from the very nature of the thing itself, and prescrib'd by the gospel ; and what the *universal cement*, to link together the lesser societies of christians, and form of all one aggregate, *well-compact'd*, and *regular* body. When this is clearly determin'd, *real merit* will be the ground of esteem and brotherly affection ; and not *nostrums*, *whims*, *ambiguities*, or an agreement in *sounds* and *ceremonies* : It may likewise be hop'd, that *spleen* and *faction* will in a great measure cease ; and together with these *impositions* on conscience, *inflam'd* and *violent* controversies, *unscriptural* and *oppressive* terms of communion, *schisms*, *tests* to ensnare the *honest* and screen *hypocrites*, and *persecution* whose gentlest operation is by *negative discouragements*, and *brands of infamy*. And when these *offences* are remov'd, christianity must appear all amiable and divine, in its native beauty and harmony, and beneficial influences ; and the justice and honour of CIVIL SOCIETIES will be more conspicuous and *unblemish'd*, and their strength and order more inviolably secur'd.

WHETHER it must be resolv'd into the vanity and childishness of human reason, or springs from passion, indolence, and the narrow views of private interest, I know not ; but the fact is certain, that the plainest and most important truths have had the hard fortune to be most warmly *disputed* ; and have

have been embarrass'd and puzzled to a prodigious degree, and cover'd over with thick darkness, by the *high-strain'd jargon*, the *nice distinctions*, and *evasive arts* of the contending parties. What are *prime* and *essential* verities, on which all piety, virtue, and true happiness depend? What is the *standard of right*; and wherein consists the *main substance* of religion? These are the questions that have distracted the sentiments of mankind in all ages; and it has often happen'd, that *truth*, and *right*, and *religion*, have been all lost in the scuffle. But since christianity commenc'd, the *terms of communion* have been the grand engine of discord; and nothing has so violently shock'd the church's peace, and rent it into such infinite *minute* and *outrageous* factions, full fraught with stubborn pride and inveterate resentment, as the attempts that have been made to explain its *constitution*, and settle its *order* and *unity*. And yet notwithstanding all the storms that ignorance and an exorbitant zeal have rais'd, and all the confusion that these debates have occasion'd, I think I may modestly venture to assert, that there are three things relating to this subject (which, if they were allow'd, would entirely prevent all future altercations about it) that are obvious almost to common sense. — 1st, That there must be some *fix'd* and *certain rule* for the communion of christians; or otherwise, the thing itself is capricious and arbitrary: It is a mere ro-

manitic and *utopian* scheme, that can exist no where but in the prolific imaginations of *dreaming enthusiasts*. — 2dly, If this rule be not *clear* as well as determinate, *easily understood* as well as justly stated and defin'd ; nothing can reasonably be expected, but that the church of Christ must always be a *rude, straggling, jangling, unconcerted rout*, without union or discipline. — 3dly, Nothing can be the *universal condition* of christian communion, but what is absolutely necessary to denominate a man a christian.

—— SUPPOSE the thing we were speaking of, was the communion of SECTS and PARTIES, considered *as such*, or *as distinguished* from each other ; in that case it would immediately be allow'd, that their *discriminating* sentiments and customs must be *the proper qualification*. In order to mere *Arian* communion, the nature of the thing itself declares it to be necessary, that we embrace the *Arian* creed ; in order to mere *Athanasian* communion, that we assent to the creed of *Athanasius* ; in order to mere *Calvinistic* communion, that we allow the peculiar scheme of *Calvin* : For this is only saying in other words, that if it be proposed to establish a society, consisting of *none but Calvinists*, the *natural means* of securing the end in view is to take care, that all who are admitted as members be *really Calvinists* ; otherwise, it will be a *mix'd* society, and not confin'd to a particular denomination ;
which

which is diametrically opposite to the plan laid down. And tho' such *unwarranted* and *factious* associations subvert the fundamental constitution of the christian church, and are an infinite scandal to the gospel; yet the general ground of arguing is the same, with respect to the *just* and *necessary* terms of *christian* communion: For by an exact parity of reasoning, when we speak of the communion of CHRISTIANS, consider'd as *such*, or of *christians only*, nothing can be requir'd or insisted on, without destroying the very supposition here made, but what is an *essential* and *indispensable* part of true christianity: Or take it thus; whatever *constitutes the christian character* must, of consequence, *determine the right to communion*.

— AND what is it, that gives a *just title* to the name and character of a CHRISTIAN?

— Is it espousing the principles of any particular society, or *division* of christians?

— Is it agreeing with them in a belief of the same articles, an observance of the rituals, in the same forms of discipline, or modes of worship? This preheminance and honour can't be assum'd by the purest church upon earth, not by the brightest ornament and support of the reformation, without an implicit claim of *infallibility*; which all *Protestants* have solemnly renounc'd as a high strain of *presumptuous pride* and *insolence*, without the least foundation in scripture, and

directly against reason, and experience.—

Or if a *man* is not absolutely tied down to the *articles, creeds, and canons* of any particular church ; is it necessary to denominate him a *christian*, that he should form a right and exact idea of every part of the revelation of the gospel ; of *every fact, institution, and doctrine* contain'd in it ? Far be it from us to insinuate, that the God of eternal wisdom, justice and mercy, governs his creatures with such severe and inflexible rigor : For if this be the case, not a *single person*, professing the religion of Christ, can have such evidence of his *christianity* as he may safely confide in, nor the slightest rational hope of *salvation*.—How then, it may be asked, shall we come to a right knowledge of the *invariable ground* of christian communion ? To which, I answer thus ; the necessity of *virtue* and a *sincere piety*, to form the christian character, is beyond all dispute ; and with respect to principles of *faith*, the only part of the inquiry that hath any difficulty attending it, St. *John* has given us the most compleat satisfaction we can reasonably desire, in the following passages : *WHOSOEVER shall confess that Jesus is the son of God, God dwelleth in him, and he in God* * ; and again, *WHOSOEVER believeth that Jesus is the Christ, is born of God* †.—If these words have any real determinate

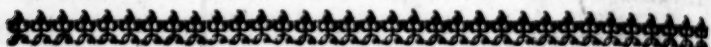
* 1 Joh. iv. 15. † Chap. v. 1.

meaning,

meaning, the grand controversy about the *essentials* of christianity is unexceptionably decided, and this is the result from the whole: That all who believe that *Jesus is the Christ*, and sincerely endeavour to understand the revelation he brought from heaven, and act agreeably to it, are *good christians*; and of consequence (the connection between these two having been already sufficiently prov'd) are intitled to the *charity* and *fellowship* of christians.

THIS being a subject of the utmost importance to the peace and prosperity of the christian church, it must be worth our while to pursue it further: — By shewing, that a union and strict fellowship amongst all *true christians*, notwithstanding lesser differences, is much better adapted to promote the interest and honour of christianity, than the contrary *contracted* scheme; — by pointing out the vast *advantages* of adhering to this rule of *catholic communion*, to truth and virtue, and the rights of society; and the unavoidable *confusions* and *mischiefs* introduc'd by departing from it; — by examining the principal arguments urged in favour of *bigotry*, and the *narrow* communion of imposing and church-dividing SECTARIES; — and, by natural and proper reflections, applying the whole to the *present state* of christianity among our selves. I may, therefore, treat more at large of these things hereafter; than which none have a stronger claim to

the regard and zeal of a wise, generous, and good *man*, of an honest and peaceable *christian*, of an uniform steady *Protestant*, or a true friend to *liberty*.



N U M B. XXXII.

Est enim lex nihil aliud, nisi recta, et a numine deorum tracta ratio, imperans bonesta, prohibens contraria. CICERO.

I AM diverted from persuing the subject of *christian communion* by a piece lately publish'd intitl'd, *The Occasional Paper, upon the Subject of religion, and the church establishment, and the present attempts against them.* This writer having attack'd the OLD WHIG in a particular manner, I shall make no other apology for troubling the reader with some general remarks on the scheme which he has advanc'd in the second paper, to prove *the importance of a religious establishment to civil government*; which scheme is, in the main, little more than *Hobbes's* creed reviv'd, for making religion an implement and engine of state.

THE

THE substance of what this writer has urged I shall give in his own words.-----
The importance of religion to civil government can be disputed by no reasonable man; and the same arguments of convenience, and order, and peace, which prove the necessity of religion in general, will also conclude for the establishment of some one particular form of it; ----- this particular form, is that which the magistrate, upon due inquiry, shall judge to be most agreeable to the will of God, and consequently most conducive to the virtue and happiness of the society. ----- So that this is the result of the whole: That the magistrate's religion, which will always be presum'd to be chosen upon *due inquiry*, must be the establish'd religion, for every reason of *convenience, and order, and peace, which proves the necessity of religion in general.* Upon this scheme in favour of a religious establishment, the following observations naturally occur.

1st, THAT if *the same arguments of convenience, and order, and peace, which prove the necessity of religion in general, will also conclude for the establishment of the magistrate's religion; it must necessarily follow, that religion in general, and the magistrate's notion of religion, are of equal importance to the peace of government, and the happiness of mankind in society: For if the magistrate's notion of religion be not of equal importance with religion in general; tho' the argument*
 should

should be allow'd to hold good for the establishment of religion in general, if we were infallibly sure what it was, it would by no means conclude for the establishment of the magistrate's religion. But,

2dly, So far is this argument from terminating in the point proposed, that it destroys itself ; and if it proves any thing, it must prove beyond dispute, that *contradictions* may, and ought to be establish'd : For if it be necessary that the judgement of the civil magistrate should be the establish'd religion in *any particular* country ; and this necessity arises, not from peculiar circumstances, but from the very nature and end of society, as this incautious writer rashly supposes ; the opinions and decisions of the governing powers must, by the same kind of necessity, and founded on the very same reasons, be the establish'd religion of ALL countries. And as 'tis scarce possible, but that the sentiments of *magistrates*, as well as those of subjects, will differ, and be inconsistent with each other ; 'tis a most direct and unavoidable consequence, that upon principles of reason, and for the order and support of government, both *truth* and *falsehood* ought to be establish'd. But tho' this would be a natural inference, if the whole of the reasoning in the *Occasional Paper* was solid and conclusive, it is liable to an objection of a quite different kind ; and that is,

3dly,

3dly, THAT it does not so much as prove that *christianity itself* ought to be establish'd. For let us consider how the argument stands: Religion, in general, is of importance to civil government; therefore, *christianity* ought to be establish'd.--Or thus:-- Religion in general, on account of its importance to civil government, ought to be establish'd; therefore, *christianity* ought to be establish'd. Every one must see that this is hurrying to a conclusion, before the way is fairly prepar'd for it. There is one necessary link wanting in this pretended chain of reasoning; and to make it plausible, this proposition ought likewise to have been prov'd, that *That religion, which is of importance to the security and main ends of government, can't subsist without the belief and profession of christianity*: For if it may, the inference is evidently strain'd and unnatural; and the whole fabric falls to the ground. Suppose, then, it should be objected, *That natural religion consisting in the belief of God's being and providence, of a future state of rewards and punishments, and the immutable obligations of virtue and piety*; suppose, I say, it should be objected, that these things constitute the whole of religion, so far as it has any relation to the welfare and order of society; what answer could this writer make to it? Would he deny the proposition itself? --- He must then be obliged to produce some other doctrines, distinct from the general principles of

of morality and natural religion, that have an *immediate connection* with the strength and support of civil government.—Or would he rather choose to rest the matter here, that christianity contains the most *exact* and *perfect system* of the religion of nature; and for that reason ought to be establish'd?—Let us see what can be made of the argument upon this foot. Thus it must be stated: Natural religion, or religion in general, *is of importance to civil government*; but the christian doctrine contains the most *perfect scheme* of natural religion; and therefore—

What follows from hence? — nothing more than this, that the christian system of *morality and natural religion* ought to be establish'd. — All besides is inference without *premises*. This will plainly appear, if we try the force of the argument in another instance, and substitute *social virtue* in the place of *religion*. *The importance of social virtue to civil government*, can no more be *disputed by a reasonable man*, than the *importance of religion*; and the *same arguments of convenience, and order, and peace*, that *prove the necessity of social virtue in general*, will also *conclude for the establishment of some particular principles and scheme of it*. Now the christian religion has proposed the *best and most rational*; therefore, ALL the doctrines of christianity, whether they have any thing to do with *social virtue* or not; therefore the doctrine of the *trinity*; therefore particular

particular forms of church-government, *episcopacy, presbytery, or independency*, ought to be establish'd; — therefore, in short, any thing, *whatever the magistrate thinks proper*, ought to be establish'd. There is one thing more, that must by no means be omitted, which is this, that in both the cases that have been mention'd the christian system is fittest to be establish'd, not merely on account of its being the *christian*; but because 'tis the *best system* of social virtue, and of the religion of nature. I am not now affirming, that there are no solid and substantial grounds for making the *gospel* a religious establishment; but only shewing, that the argument, which the *occasional writer* has advanc'd to prove this point, is weak and insufficient.

THERE is another observation necessary to be made, to do full justice to this author's merit; and that is, that his principal argument is an *insolent and scurrilous* invective against *the church of England*, as it defends its constitution on such principles only, as will equally justify ALL the establish'd religions in the world. 'Tis a truly *catholic* argument in one sense, *i. e.* 'tis calculated for every climate; and will have full as much weight in the mouth of an *idolatrous heathen priest*, as when it comes from the pen of one, who calls himself a member of a *christian* or a *protestant* church. In JAPAN or CHINA, the importance of religion to civil government can be disputed

puted by no reasonable man; and the same arguments of convenience, and order, and peace, which prove the necessity of religion in general, will also conclude for the establishment of some one particular form of it: The magistrate has, upon principles of reason [or universal principles, that result from the very nature and end of government] a concern in the religion of the community; he has the right of establishing that particular form of it, which he, upon due inquiry, shall judge to be most agreeable to the will of God, and consequently most conducive to the virtue and happiness of the society: And thus the religion of *Confucius*, as it may be incorporated into the constitution and public laws; and the *Japanese* establishment, whatever it be; are compleatly vindicated. But what true son of our excellent church can bear, without a generous resentment, to see her honour laid in the dust, and her sacred prerogatives debas'd and reduc'd so low, as to be put upon a level with the vilest and most pernicious impostures? Can nothing more be said for establishing the worship of the *true God*, than for that of *demons* and *fictitious deities*? For establishing the religion of *Christ*, than for the sensual and enslaving superstition of *Mahomet*? For the ceremonies of the *church of England*, than for those of a *Mahometan mosque*? — If an enemy to our ecclesiastical constitution was hir'd secretly to undermine it, he could not, I think, have taken a more effectual method, nor have done it with greater reproach and

and *contumely*, than by borrowing this author's defence of it. Let me add, that an argument which only concludes for an establishment in general, is no just defence of any *particular* establishment: For there must be rules and boundaries of right and wrong with respect to establishments, as there are in all other matters. And therefore, tho' it should be allow'd, that one kind of establishments may be *right*, friendly to religion, and consistent with the immunities and privileges of men and christians; 'tis very possible, for all this, that every establishment, that is actually form'd throughout the whole world may be *wrong*, dishonourable to religion, and an incroachment upon liberty.

BUT *the Occasional Paper*, besides this shrewd and masterly vindication of establishments in general, contains several other curious conceits: One or two of which I shall lightly touch upon. It tells us, *that the establishment of a religion, gives us a legal property in it, and that it becomes one of our civil rights.* — An establishment gave our forefathers just the same *legal property* in *POPERY*; and thus popery became one of *their* civil rights; and therefore, to carry on this author's fine thread of reasoning, it was fit that *the same laws, which convey'd to them that property, should protect them in the enjoyment of it. To repeal those laws, which were necessary to its preservation, was to repeal the establishment.*

blishment. — And what then? was there any *mischief* done by this? Ought popery to have continued *still* in possession, as a standing curse on the nation, because it was *once establish'd*, and by that means made a *legal property*, and a *civil right*? If it ought not, but on the contrary, the repeal of these laws was just and necessary; that any *other laws* were made with a design to guard the establishment, is, in itself, no reason, why they may not likewise be repeal'd.

WE are farther told, that *an opinion, that the laws relating to the ecclesiastical part of our constitution are unrighteous, is an opinion that must certainly affect the society.* And what is the use that the *occasional writer* would make of this? He desires we would but apply this truth to the dissenters having a share in the administration, and then, he thinks, we must be convinc'd of the *unreasonableness of such an attempt.* In order to see whether such an application be right, or not, I would first apply it, without designing to insinuate that the cases are exactly parallel to the *inquisition*, that pretended *spiritual court*, or, to speak more properly, *hellish tribunal*, which is a part of the *ecclesiastical constitution* in Spain and Portugal. Is an *opinion, maintained in those Countries, that this ecclesiastical part of the constitution is unrighteous, an opinion that must certainly affect the society*, or is it not? If it be not, why should an opinion of the like nature, be so interpreted

terpreted in *England*, or in any other nation? And if it be, all men of common humanity who think the most barbarous cruelties that were ever practised on account of religion, an infringement of the rules of justice and mercy, must, according to this author's argument, be excluded from a share in *public offices*, wherever the inquisition is establish'd. And this exclusion will not be a mere point of *policy*, but *right and fit in its own nature*, as the exclusion of the *dissenters* is suppos'd to be, upon the very same principle.

THAT tyrants and oppressors will *actually* encourage such only, as approve of *ALL* the laws which they have enacted, 'tis natural to expect; but that a legislature OUGHT NOT to favour and allow the *full rights of subjects* to the best men and the best christians, only because they judge it necessary, that *bad* parts of the constitution should be alter'd and amended, is a contradiction to common sense.---Should it be said, that the laws, which the *dissenters* complain of, are not a *bad* part of our constitution; I answer, that the *inquisition*, to which this argument equally extends, must be allow'd, by every *Protestant*, to be a *bad part* of the ecclesiastical constitution of *Spain* and *Portugal*; and therefore the consequence I have drawn from this author's argument, is entirely natural: And this absurd and monstrous consequence proves the argument itself to be absurd.

IF it be ask'd farther, whether every constitution is not authoris'd to take all proper measures for its own preservation and security? I answer again; that if it be a *good constitution*, it may righteously and fairly defend itself: if it be a *bad one*, it can have no more right to *support* itself, than it had to *form* itself into what it is. The only question therefore is, whether particular laws are *equitable*, or not: If they are, they deserve to be maintain'd; if they are not, they ought to be repeal'd.----And to assert the contrary, is to make *law* the standard of *right*, and not *right*, as in reason it should be, the ground and foundation of *law*.



N U M B. XXXIII.

To the OLD WHIG.

S I R,

I BEG leave to offer to the public, thro' your paper, a few thoughts on religious liberty and the right of private judgment, which is a point of the greatest importance in the world,

RELIGIOUS

RELIGIOUS liberty has the same foundation with civil liberty ; both are founded in personal property. As civil liberty supposeth a right in every person equally to his life, with the comforts and necessaries of it, given by the author of nature, which are not without forfeiture to depend on the will of any other person ; so religious liberty supposes a right in every person equally to judge for himself [according to the abilities and opportunities which God hath given him] in matters of religion ; and upon that judgment to form those sentiments, and embrace that religious service, which he thinks to be most acceptable to the deity. On which account religion is plainly a personal property, but different from civil property in this respect, that it cannot in any case be at the disposal of another, be ever forfeited or justly taken away ; because it is an invisible property, respecting only the mind and conscience, and in which we are subject unto God alone, the tryer and searcher of hearts.

It is evident therefore, that no one can judge for another in matters of religion, as in civil property ; and that it is necessary, that religion should be the result and determination of every one's own judgment, and not of another's : whence it follows, that religion, merely as such, cannot be the subject of human laws ; nor can be enforced by any visible sanctions of rewards and punishments. All that human laws can justly do,

is, to injoin the worship of God in general, according to the knowledge men have of his will, whether natural or reveal'd; and to enforce the moral duties of religion, relating to the peace and well-being of society; but they have nothing to do with the particular opinions or speculations which men may form to themselves in religion, and in which they may differ from others, any farther, than as these may immediately affect society, or interfere with the rights of it: But so far as any opinions are mere matters of religion and conscience, they are the unalienable property of those who hold them, and for which, as already prov'd, they are, and can be justly accountable to none but God. Whence farther, it must be concluded, that all *imposition* of matters of religion, merely such, by the authority of human laws, is an unjust usurpation and tyranny over conscience, and an invasion of the prerogative of God, the only ruler of conscience, and object of religion.

AND this unjust and tyrannical imposition of matters of religion, merely such, by the authority of human laws, is properly and alone the *essence* of *popery*. It is a mistake to think, that the errors of *Papists* are *popery*, any more than the errors of *Lutherans* and *Calvinists* are so. All denominations of christians are *fallible*, may err, and do err, and there are as gross absurdities maintain'd by *Protestants* as by *Papists*: So that if *popery* con-

consisted in erroneous opinions merely, there would be *Lutheran* and *Calvinistical* popery, &c. as well as *Roman*.

POPERY then does not really consist in any errors at all ; and there may be popery where there may be no errors ; but popery does truly and only consist in the *papal power*, in the tyrannical imposition of matters of religion (whether true or false) upon the consciences of christians, by human laws, enforced with the sanction of rewards and punishments.

THIS truly, essentially, and alone, is popery ; and may be exercised either in natural or revealed religion. For Paganism *impos'd*, is *Pagan popery* ; and christianity itself, which is a true religion, if impos'd by laws on those who have not, or think they have not, sufficient evidence of the truth of it, would be *Christian popery* ; and therefore, much more is it popery thus to impose upon christians, as essentials and fundamentals of christianity, matters which are not declared or taught in those scriptures, which are agreed to be the rule of christian faith, and worship.

As in a state of natural religion it is popery, or a tyrannical invasion of the property of *reason* and right of judgment thereby, to institute, and by force of human laws impose, any thing as matter of religion, which is not evidently agreeable to reason, or the dictates of natural conscience, nor

can be proved to be the divine will; [from which imposition all *pagan* superstition and idolatry have proceeded] so in the state of revealed religion it is popery, and deifying human power, and setting it up in the place of God in the temple of God, and a violation of christian liberty, to impose human traditions or fallible interpretations of scripture for the rule of faith, and the matter of christian worship and communion; [whence all the absurdities, superstitions and idolatries of the church of *Rome* proceed.]

ALL real christians do, and must agree that as there is but *one faith*, and *one catholic communion of saints*, so there is but *one rule* or foundation, *viz.* the inspir'd scriptures, to build this *faith* and *communion* upon. And as all who believe and profess the christian religion have a right to this communion, so they must have a right to it on the terms of their being christians, or on the conditions requir'd in scripture, without any other being impos'd upon them; and every imposition of what is not plainly and expressly declar'd and requir'd in scripture, is an evident departure from the rule of faith and communion and a *schism* made in the body of Christ the church.

IF scripture (as is agreed) is a rule at all it is, and cannot but be, intelligible and plain in all points in which it is a rule, or which are made *necessary* by it, to obtain the benefit of it: It must be as plain in all fundamental

and necessary articles of belief and practice, as God the fountain of wisdom and truth could make it, or thought fit to make it ; and therefore, for any men to pretend to make it plainer by their interpretations, and to make their sense by imposition of it equal to the rule itself, is really taking revealed religion out of God's hands into their own ; is teaching his infallible Spirit to speak more *wisely* and *plainly* than he has done ; and instead of owning God to be the *only father*, and Christ to be the *only lord and master* of christians, is taking upon themselves to be both *masters* and *fathers* ; and in consequence, is to make the divine word void and of none effect, and to establish their own in its stead.

AND this imposition is not the less unjust, whether the matters impos'd be true or false ; and is equally wrong whoever is the imposer, and with whatever degree of power, or penalty, the imposition is enforc'd. For since God has not appointed any *infallible* guide (besides his own Spirit in the revelation of the gospel) in matters of religion, to whom he has commanded us to resort to know his will, and to obey his instructions ; so altho' what is taught by learned and good men, as their sense of scripture, may be and often is *true*, yet as it may be also *false*, they can have no right to *impose* it ; nor can any be obliged to profess it, who do not think it *truth*. So that the matter *impos'd* being *true* or *false*, is equally an invasion of christian liberty, and

breach of the rule of christian faith and communion.

IT plainly follows again, that if *imposition* is right or lawful in any person, or in any degree, it must be equally right and lawful in every person and in every degree. The Papists, by this reasoning, have the same right to impose the particular doctrines of their church, as *Lutherans, Calvinists, &c.* have to impose theirs; and the Papists have the same right to impose them with the degree of power and penalty which they think necessary to enforce them, as the *Lutherans, Calvinists, &c.* have to impose their peculiar doctrines with that degree of power and penalty which they think necessary to enforce them; whether the degrees of imposition, or the degrees of enforcing power and penalty, are more or less in the one and in the other; and there is no avoiding the conclusion, that if it be lawful or right to *impose*, in the least degree of temporal penalty, *positive* or *negative*, it is lawful and right to go on, and *impose* in every or the highest degree of temporal penalty. And farther, it will follow by the same reasoning, that whatever power of *imposition* Christians rightly have or claim, *Mahometans* and *Pagans* have the same over all within the reach of their imposing power, whether they be *Turks, Jews, Infidels, or Christians*; and thus this imposition of matters of religion, which is the *essence* of popery, makes not only all the different denominations

minations of Christians equal, but all the religions in the world equal also ; because a right to *impose*, implies an obligation of *obedience* to the imposition or impos'd matters ; otherwise, it is a right to do or impose nothing, *i. e.* a right and no right.

THE unavoidable important conclusion, which follows from the preceding discourse, is, that the church hath not an *imposing*, but merely an *instructive* power ; and that in order to preserve true religion, that which is the only rule and foundation of it ought to be kept and maintain'd unvaried and inviolable ; and so, that the express scripture-doctrine and forms (which alone can be essential and fundamental to christians) ought to be the only doctrine and forms of christian faith and worship, and the only terms of christian communion and fellowship. By this method, and by no other but this, all *schism* and *heresy* will be prevented or remov'd ; for there can be no *schism* where all christians agree to hold communion with each other, on the express conditions and terms of scripture ; and there can be no *heresy* where nothing is impos'd or profess'd, but what is declar'd in, and taken out of it.

LASTLY : As this method is unquestionably right in itself, and tends most to the glory of God and his Christ ; to the advancement of true religion and godliness, and to the peace and union of christians with one another ; so it is highly worthy the consideration

deration of all christians, and especially of the governors of every church ; nor does it derogate from any reasonable or honourable power, which the church ever claim'd or can claim. It makes God and Christ, with their Spirit, the only rulers of conscience, and objects of our faith ; and leaves an *instructive* power in the hands of the church, to advance in christian knowledge and practice all its members, by setting forth catechisms and public instructions, and providing able and pious ministers ; who, by their pure preaching of the gospel, and the example of their godly lives, may much promote both the knowledge and virtue of the other members of the church committed to their care ; and be the means of the propagation and increase of true religion, and of the happiness of mankind, both here and hereafter. I am,

S I R,

Your's, &c.

NUMB.

N U M B. XXXIV.

Clament etiam similiter ecclesiæ septem orientales, ad quas scribit Apostolus Johannes, et dicant, quid vobis fecimus fratres? Quare CHRISTIANI cum CHRISTIANIS pacem habere non vultis? Quare in nobis COMMUNIA SACRAMENTA rescinditis?

AUGUST.

The Point of CHRISTIAN COMMUNION further considered.

I HAVE endeavoured, in a former paper on this subject, to state and explain the terms of christian communion in general; and the sum of the argument may be reduc'd to the following heads.-----1st, That there must be some *determinate* and *certain* rule for the communion of christians; or else there can be no foundation for disputing at all about it, and 'tis impossible we should ever know whether we are *right* or *wrong*.-----2^{dly}, That the *universal* condition of christian communion can, in the nature of

of the thing itself, be nothing more, than what is absolutely necessary *to denominate a man a christian*; or, in other words, nothing can, *in right*, be insisted on, as a qualification for the communion of christians *consider'd as such*, but what is an *essential* and *indispensable part* of true christianity. The whole question therefore is brought to terminate in this point:---What it is that gives a fair and unexceptionable title to *the name and character of a christian*.---Upon which account, I have attempted to shew, (3dly) from *express passages* of the new testament, that besides a regular and virtuous life, (which is of immutable importance under every religion, that is of divine original) nothing farther is wanting to make the character of a christian *complete*, than the believing that *Jesus is the Christ*; or, which convey'd the same general idea to the *Jews*, the *son of God*. And thus it appears, that a profession of christianity demonstrated to be sincere by an habitual course of piety and temperance, of righteousness and beneficence, gives every man a *full title* to the name of a *christian*; and by the inseparable connection of these two things with each other, to the charity and fellowship of *all other christians*.

— LET us now take a short view, for setting the matter in a stronger light, of the consequences that follow from the contrary scheme, which are these:—That christian
communion

communion is a mere CHIMERA, of which there is no uniform invariable standard; that the only foundations for it are *uncertain conjecture*, and the *infinite variety* of human errors and prejudices; and all the orders relating to it of *arbitrary imposition*: Again, that a man may be a christian, and yet not have a just claim to the *rights* and *privileges* of a christian; and on this foot, all the obligations of morality and social virtue may likewise be subverted: for it may with as good reason be affirm'd (and indeed it has been insinuated, of late, by some *low* writers of this stamp) that *as a man*, he has no claim to the *common* benefits of humanity, to the *natural* and *unalienable* rights of mankind.--- And to mention but one absurd consequence more, it unavoidably follows from these premises, that 'tis necessary to christian communion, that a person be of a *particular sect*, or *denomination* of christians; and yet the thing talk'd of is not the communion of a *particular sect* of christians, but of *christians in general*: So that upon this wild scheme, 'tis christian communion, and *not* christian communion; — 'tis unfathomable *mystery*; — a labyrinth of endless *confusion*; — a *contradiction*, that destroys itself.

WHAT, therefore, I have shewn to be the constitution and appointment of the *gospel*, for regulating the communion of the christian church, the same is the only rule that *reason* can approve of, or vindicate; nor
can

can it be more necessary *in general*, that certain terms of christian communion be fix'd and prescrib'd, than it is, that this *particular rule* be inviolably observ'd; because there remains, upon no other supposition, any possible *centre* of christian unity. If indeed we consent to model ourselves according to the scripture plan, we may preserve the affection and mutual regard of brethren, and secure the most amiable and beneficial union, *a union of hearts, and interests*; tho' we can't all agree in opinion, or attain to one *size and shape* of understanding. But if we take the liberty to frame terms of communion, *distinct* from what the gospel has fix'd as essential to christianity; and allow the *same right* to others, which we assume to ourselves; amidst such *inconsistent* pretences, and *universal usurpations* of power, maintained and exercised just as fancy and partiality direct, we must for ever despair of *harmony and peace*: This must make the condition of the christian church, like *Hobbes's* state of nature, a state of *anarchy and war*. And besides, as a *uniformity* either of *right* or *wrong* sentiments, in all points of belief and practice, can never be expected, while men have such different capacities and advantages; such different educations, passions, and interests; it can't be imagin'd, that this, which is *next to impossible* from the very frame of human nature, and the state and circumstances of the world, is a necessary qualification for that solemn office of christian communion,

communion, which is always represented and enforc'd as an *UNIVERSAL duty*. — Or if we alter the case a little, and consider this great act of our christian fellowship under the notion of a *privilege*; what reason have we to believe that Christ has ordain'd that any of his faithful servants should be debarr'd from it, for mere *involuntary* errors in other points, that have no immediate *connection* with it, and don't *interfere* with its peculiar design and uses? If it had been our saviour's real intention, that other things should be requir'd as terms of church-communion, besides what are necessary to constitute a true christian, they would doubtless have been particularly *specify'd*; or at least there would have been some *plain general rules* relating to them; that they might not be liable, as they *now* are, to eternal disputes. But as there is an absolute silence in this respect, as to all the *peculiar sentiments* and *usages* by which christians are distinguish'd from each other; this is the strongest presumption imaginable, that the author of our religion did not design that *any of them* should be insisted on.

AND now having largely explained what is the general law of christian communion, from the nature of the thing itself, and the express constitution of the gospel; I shall briefly recommend it from another topic, which is this: that 'tis the most effectual method to advance the *honour* of our holy religion, and is much better adapted to promote
its

its cause and interest, than the contrary opinion is, or *can be*. And — 1st, 'Tis an eminent and signal *honour* to *christianity*, that it lays the chief stress on SINCERITY, more than on the justest *speculations*, and the utmost exactness in *external* and *instituted* duties; and inculcates that, as the only necessary recommendation to the esteem, friendship, and communion, of our *fellow-christians*, which intitles to the favour of *God*, and the rewards and blessings of *eternity*. — 'Tis vastly more *honourable* to *christianity* to suppose, that all those, who in the *temper* of their minds are qualified to receive and improve, in a proper manner, the privileges of the gospel, have a *right* to partake of them; than 'tis to assert, that they are excluded upon no foundation for it in *the reason of the thing*, but by a mere *arbitrary appointment*. — 'Tis much more *honourable* to *christianity*, that there be a *general easy rule* for the communion of all christians; than 'tis to give such an account of it, as leaves it on uncertain *indeterminable* principles, and consequently to *humour* and *prejudice*. — Again, whatever naturally tends to promote *peace* and *concord*, must redound more to the *honour* of our religion, than that which has a direct tendency to create *animosities* and *divisions*. Now the latter are the necessary consequences of *narrowing* our communion, more than a regard to *sincerity*, and *common christianity*, requires. Such a conduct begets shyness and alienation
of

of affection, jealousy and mutual diffidence; it inflames the passions, heightens prejudices, and maintains a spirit of opposition; in consequence of which, christianity is brought into contempt, — and thereby *weaken'd*; — and on this account likewise, that the professors of it acting on such principles, instead of considering themselves as united by *one general interest*, and bearing *one grand character* that ought to swallow up all lesser distinctions, will be apt to pursue separate views, and support *factions* against each other; but chiefly, and above all, as the common cause of virtue and religion is likely to suffer, by having less esteem and regard paid to it than are paid to mere notions, forms, and rituals, which are at best but *appendages, fences, and helps* to TRUE RELIGION.

SHOULD it be objected to what has been said, that, by allowing a *promiscuous communion* of all sincere christians of different *names* and *sentiments*, truth is in danger of being *suppress'd*; and the primitive christian principles and practice may, in the end, be *lost*, in some points of great importance: 'Twill be natural to reply, that if there be any weight at all in this objection, it lays a sure foundation for all *sorts* and *degrees* of imposition: For the primitive christian principles and practice are just of that importance (and *no more*) to particular persons, and christian societies, as they *apprehend* them to be of: If therefore the society, *to which I belong*, have

X

a right

a right to make their principles, from the opinion they have of their *importance*, stated terms of church-communion; so has *another society* — tho' their principles are directly opposite; nay, so has *every society*, — be the principles they espouse true or false, honourable to christianity, or the most infamous abuses and corruptions of it. And can any thing like *order*, any advancement of *truth*, any real support of *religion*, result from hence? 'Tis impossible. — But in the room of these advantages, we must expect *jarring* and *inconsistent* terms of communion of *all sorts*; injury and oppression without *measure*; and breaches of peace without *end*.

I SHALL conclude this essay with two reflections, of which the application is easy, and the use plain and obvious. And — 1st, As it must be allow'd, if the premises which I have laid down are true, that to make the communion of *christians* a mixt and heterogeneous communion of *infidels*, *rakes*, and *libertines*, is an extreme of *latitude* on the one hand; so 'tis equally clear, that to *contract* it into the particular communion of *Calvinists*, or *Arminians*; of the kirk of *Scotland*, or any other *national church*; is an extreme of *narrowness* on the other; And to make that holy action, which was *only designed* to be a testimony of our faith in *Christ*, and fellowship with one another as *christians*, and with the *catholic church*; to make it, I say, the mark, or *sign*, or *seal*, of an attachment

ment to any *human* ecclesiastical constitution, is putting a *new* and *strange* face on primitive and apostolical christianity. The first of these *profanes* ; the second *debases* ; and the last *quite perverts* the original institution. — 2dly, As it farther appears from what has been advanc'd, that a man may have a right to communion in the *christian* church, who scruples the terms imposed by *particular* churches ; and as he may be a good man, a good member of society, and a good *christian* too in the highest and most perfect sense, tho' he dislikes, and refuses to comply with, canons and ceremonies of *human* establishment ; it necessarily follows, that there can be no reasonable ground, either on the general principles of *religion*, or on those of a just and honest *policy*, to exclude him from the *civil* advantages and honours of a christian community : For what other *necessary qualifications* can be proposed (or what *greater security* can be given) for his discharging *well* and *faithfully* any public trust, provided his *abilities* are equal to it ; besides those of his being an upright man, a good subject, and a conscientious christian ? — His being *for* or *against* the use of particular *ceremonies*, his being zealous for *episcopacy*, or *presbytery*, or any other form of *church-rule*, and *discipline*, are evidently remote and foreign points ; in which the *interests* of civil government, and of consequence, the *rights* of a subject, are *not near so much* concern'd, as they are in the *plainness*,

or *gaudiness* of his dress, the *simplicity* or *luxury* of his diet, and his prudential rules for *family oeconomy*.



N U M B. XXXV.

To the OLD WHIG.

— *Davus sum, non OEdipus.* TER.

S I R,

THE proposition of repealing the test-act is so commonly the subject of discourse, that an *Old Whig* can no longer be silent on that head; and tho' many of your former discourses on the right of private judgment, and the injustice of civil incapacities, on account of religious opinions, &c. may have been wrote with a view to the case of our brethren the *protestant Dissenters*; yet we expect, in a more particular manner, that you will shew the equity of the attempt, and the reasonableness of making it, in the approaching session of parliament.

As I converse chiefly amongst those who call themselves *Whigs*, I have seldom heard the justice of the case disputed: But I have met with some, who pretended to be well with the

the

he great, and would be understood to speak at second-hand, or, as the vulgar term it, to reason ministerially, who fear this step will make the *Dissenters* obnoxious to the church: They have heard of great numbers of *Papists*; they have been very busy of late; made many converts; we can never be too watchful against popery; this affair may produce unhappy divisions; it will end in breaking the *Whig* interest; and what is worse, may distress the administration. These, with a few emphatical shrugs, have been the weighty objections I have met with, against the *Dissenters* insisting on the enjoyment of their natural rights; which, for want of better, I will take the liberty to consider: not because I imagine them to have ever been countenanc'd by any persons in power, but because the apprehension of it may give a damp to that spirit of liberty, which has begun to exert itself.

No man of sense can, in earnest, fear that our excellent church, which has distinguish'd herself as much by her spirit of meekness and charity, as by the purity of her doctrine, should be offended that a real toleration should be given to her protestant brethren, and every degree of persecution put an end to. Neither can it be any offence to the truly pious clergy, that the mysteries of our religion should be sacred only to the uses for which they were instituted, and themselves be deliver'd from the disagreeable dilemma of

administ'ring the sacrament of the Lord's supper to the openly debauch'd and intemperate, or to be liable to be undone by actions, in case of their refusal.

THE argument from the danger of popery is equally weak; and indeed I can't think that it can be imagin'd, without great injustice and indecency, that a law made to prevent a popish prince from giving power to those of his own persuasion, is necessary to subsist after the accession of the illustrious house of *Hanover*. But let the *Papists* be never so many, and the danger of their increase never so great, it can be no reason for the continuance of the test-act; because they are not restrain'd by their religion, from taking the sacrament after the manner of the church, but are incapacitated by the oaths of supremacy, &c.

NEITHER can division be supposed naturally to arise from taking away the marks of distinction, which, in reality, tend only to create heats and schism. And I have as oft heard it urg'd as an objection to the intended attempt, that it would ruin the interest of the *Dissenters*, by uniting many of them to the church, as that the admission of *dissenters* into our church would occasion any disturbances amongst its members.

THE supposition of its breaking the *Whig* interest, was to me quite unintelligible. I concluded, that the weight of the *dissenters* was doubtless very considerable, and that they

they must have been very useful to us; that every favour shewn them, must be a means to unite them to us, and consequently to strengthen, rather than break the *Whig* interest. I therefore went to one of these minute reasoners, to find out how he could imagine this attempt would break the *Whig* interest. I'll tell you how, says he: These *Dissenters* will make this attempt to repeal the test to be itself a test: They seem to be extorting a confession from the persons to whom they apply for assistance, whether they are indeed the *Whigs*, the patrons of liberty, the patriots they call themselves; and they seem to think, every man they approach will immediately, like Satan at the touch of *Ithuriel's* spear, betray himself, and blaze out in his proper colours; and they will treat the persons who can't in point of prudence comply with their request, as politicians, politic for themselves only, as serving their country only for an opportunity to plunder it more safely, as corruptors or corrupted, as consenting only for their own profit, or opposing only from their resentments.---He would have gone on, but I stopt him, by telling him, that the *Dissenters* resentments, however high they might rise on other occasions, could not be fear'd on this; for that all *Whigs* would unite on this occasion, and exert themselves in their favour. Pray, who told you so, says he, with a look which he assumes when he would put on an air of importance? My

reason, said I, tells me, that no person deserves the name of a *Whig*, who will prefer any little views of his own, to the interest of his country and the liberty of mankind. I am sorry, Sir, says he, you know mankind so little; but, pursued he with an air of coldness and contempt, this is a very ungrateful return for the favours the *Dissenters* have receiv'd. FAVOURS! said I, of what kind? When my friend, instead of answering, left me with that sort of abruptness which proceeds from having said too much, and yet wanting to say more; and made me reflect, that if indeed *Whiggism* meant no more than a faction, pursuing the views of ambition and avarice, there might arise divisions which would effectually break their interest; that the *Whig in possession*, as Mr. Osborne calls him, would be opposite to the *Whig in expectation*; the *Whig in possession* would be as zealous for keeping up every distinction which may obstruct the way to preferment, as the *Whigs in expectation* would be to remove them. But whatever little views may influence some few mean men, I can't persuade myself to believe the *Whigs* to be so degenerated from the spirit of their fathers, as to give any countenance to so unworthy an aspersion; and question not but we shall see an unanimity and activity on this occasion, worthy of the cause and character we assume.

THE supposing that this attempt may distress the administration, must be treated as merely

merely chimerical. This administration has been supported by *Whigs*, and are not ashamed of owning the principles and cause of liberty: Every acquisition of the *Whigs*, is therefore strengthening their hands, and making their administration secure and easy; as it enlarges the number of friends, secures their affections, and defeats the schemes of the adversary. From whence then should they be distress'd? As for their avow'd enemies, their enmity can't be increas'd; as for secret ones, they are most dangerous whilst conceal'd. Ay! but we are told, there is a kind of amphibious creature, a motley animal, *a Tory in church, tho' a Whig in state*: This mungrel may be angry, and do mischief.

I IMAGINE such a creature, a mere fiction; too great an absurdity to have an existence: But if such a creature could exist, its character would be too inconsistent to enable it to do mischief.

IT could have no power I mean of its own; it must be hated by all parties, and trusted by none. All the influence such a creature is capable of, is being the canal of preferments, or the transmitter of pecuniary rewards; and even those must lose much of their intended weight, by passing thro' such a medium.

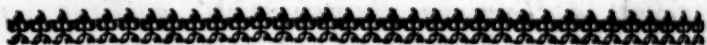
WE may therefore be assured, no such creature, however it may be disposed, will ever be able to distress the present administration;

stration; as it never has been, nor can ever hope to be, trusted by them; unless they suppose the administration covets the character of the clown's mistress in *Shakespear*, who had more hair than wit, more faults than hair, but more money than faults. I am,

S I R,

Your's, &c.

HUGO DE BURGO.



N U M B. XXXVI.

To the OLD WHIG.

S I R,

YOU have lately very much entertain'd your readers with the different speculations of two very ingenious writers; both of them, I dare say, true and hearty friends to liberty; on a very nice branch of that argument, which, I think, is not absolutely determin'd, nor given up on either side. The inquiry is concerning the *right of the*
civil

civil magistrate to take cognizance of any opinions, receiv'd or maintain'd by any of the members of society.

My present design is, not to decide this question one way or the other; much less to animadvert on the reasonings that have been so fairly and judiciously advanced on each side of the debate; but only to offer some observations which seem to me founded upon truth and reason, relating to this inquiry, perhaps not altogether new, but which may be made use of and improv'd to what purpose they may serve.

My first observation is this; That if the magistrate has a right to try and punish *hurtful opinions* (as they are call'd) he must needs have a right to try and punish *all* that *he* thinks are injurious to society; and they will, in every one's account, be of all sorts, moral, religious and civil; or, rather all such opinions will be deem'd *civil* only: For none, I suppose, will pretend to escape, by shewing, that their opinions are not *civil*, but moral only, or religious. And indeed, who will say, that atheism, infidelity and heresy, are not highly injurious to society, and not to be carefully watch'd and punish'd, by every *righteous* magistrate, be he civil or spiritual? And yet, I fear, this reasoning will soon erect and justify an *inquisition*, and must therefore remain a very great difficulty in this scheme.

IN

IN the next place, let it be considered, that the force and effect of *opinion*, can only be in proportion to mens *honesty*; and therefore, all laws made against any opinions, can be intended only against *honest* men that hold them; for no other sort of men can be influenc'd to *action* by *principles*. And yet it would look a little awkward to enact, that no *honest* man should hold such and such opinions. The truth is, that good or bad principles can have no effect but upon *honest* minds; and therefore may serve or hurt societies when embraced by such: but the society has a remedy against all bad effects when they appear in *action*. Besides, rewards and punishments cannot affect *opinions*; they can neither add to, nor take from, their evidence. They may serve to persecute and torment honest men about them, and so rather spread them by creating opposition and zeal about them, as experience shews; but can never prevent them.

AGAIN: Nothing is more evident, than that *passions* and *inclinations* are more prevalent and hurtful to society, than *opinions* of any sort can be; because the generality are govern'd by them: And yet none ever pretended to make laws against them, till they broke out into action; and every one thinks himself and his property sufficiently secured by those laws which punish the offences that their indulgence may produce; tho' he is pretty sure he is ever surrounded by men who

who are no otherwise restrained from executing their desires. Thus covetousness, impurity, injustice, and the like, tho' never so openly avow'd, or gloried in, the source of all disorders and injuries, have never been prohibited by laws till the *actions* have appeared. It would indeed be absurd to suppose these passions and inclinations taught and profess'd, because no evidence could possibly be brought to maintain them as *opinions*; but could they really be propagated that way, I see not how they could come under legal restraints, till the injurious actions were perform'd. But to add one observation more,

If *opinions* themselves are not to be brought to the test, and punish'd by the magistrate, then the *discovering* or *propagating* of such opinions cannot be cognizable. For if the opinion be not so detrimental as to require prohibition; the increase of it, which is the worst consequence that can follow, ought not to be prevented by the magistrate; unless it is to be punish'd only, when *he* thinks it too prevalent: A very uncertain and dangerous rule of procedure. Every honest man is obliged to propagate his opinions, in proportion to their apprehended importance; and they can only prevail as they appear *true*: For, considered as *beneficial*, they cannot possibly prevail as opinions (reason being the only possible evidence of *truth*) but as *excitements* of inclination to *actions*; which are, without dispute, cognizable; and therefore
men,

men, who design to bring about actions, conformable to certain opinions, or otherwise, ever conceal or discover them, only as it may serve that purpose, and to suitable persons; not as *truth*, which is fit only to excite a *few honest* and faithful men, but as *points of interest*, where they may be most likely to take effect. Therefore, this sort of teaching, or rather exciting, is not easily come at, till it breaks out into some manifest *intention* or *overt act*; which is again out of dispute.

It remains, I think, that whatever may be fairly interpreted to be an *action*, or *intention to act*, contrary to the rights and interests of the society, is cognizable by the civil magistrate, and is properly his care to prevent. *Opinions*, as such, cannot possibly affect society, nor be treated as *actions*. How far the *teaching* and *propagating* some sort of opinions, may be accounted *intentions* or *excitements* to action, depends, in great measure, upon what has been said, and must be left to be determined by equitable judges. To be sure, those actions which would most hurt the society, and which are attended with the most fatal effects, are ever to be most strictly guarded and watched against, by the laws and magistrates, to their most remote intentions and designs; and others, less injurious in their proportion. This has always been the judgment and practice of all governments, to protect and defend the most *public* lives and properties in the strictest and

and most effectual manner ; and to provide
against all personal injuries and abuses, in
proportion to the real damage apprehended.
And this is just and right, whatever be the
rule of determining *intentions* and *actions* :
The particular instances of which, I will
not enter upon at present, but leave to more
experienc'd judges. I am,

S I R,

Your humble Servant,

PHILALETHES.



N U M B. XXXVII.

To the OLD WHIG.

"Ενα σε δει, ἀνθρώπων ἢ ἀγαθὸν ἢ κακὸν εἶναι"

Epict. Ench.

S I R,

EPICTEtus, to shew the necessity
of a consistent and uniform behaviour,
gives us a satyrical picture of the op-
posite character ; and compares those who
occasionally vary their opinions and manners,
forming their judgments by the sentiments of
others,

others, or at second-hand, to monkeys, mimicking the actions of men; and concludes, concerning every person, who departs from his real character, and assumes a fictitious one, ὁλὴ δὲ τῆ ψυχῆ ἐστὶν, that he is, as we say, a fellow that has nothing in him.

WE may therefore reasonably conclude of every person of any consequence, that their conduct will be consistent and uniform, whether it is good or bad; and from a knowledge of past actions, form a probable judgment of the future.

FROM hence it is, that I hope you will inform your readers, what is to be expected will be the conduct of every considerable person, in the intended attempt to explain, or repeal, those laws which are objected to, by our protestant brethren, the *Dissenters*.

I IMAGINE, such an inquiry would be as useful as entertaining; as it would engage many persons to be active on this occasion, who seem to be in a state of indolence, not to be shook off, but by great hopes of success.

As the eyes of the *Whigs* are, in the first place, turn'd on the *ministry*, you will give them the agreeable assurance of *their* favourable disposition to encourage this undertaking, and of their powerful assistance in carrying it on; which, tho' it is sufficiently evident, from their having always profess'd themselves to be *Whigs*, and avow'd the principles of liberty, will still the more strongly appear, by
considering

considering the writings of those who are suppos'd to speak the sense of the great, and are therefore call'd *ministerial writers*; and particularly those of *Britannus* and Mr. *Osborne*; whose papers on the subject of natural rights, deserve both attention and great commendation.

BUT it will leave no room for a doubt, when we consider, that the Dissenters have merited some favour from the administration, not only by a steady attachment to *Whig* principles, from the revolution to this day, by which the succession of the illustrious house of *Hanover* has been establish'd and secur'd; but by shewing a particular disposition to make the situation of the *ministry* as easy as possible; taking their direction, I may almost call it, in every case where gentlemen in the administration might decently interfere; and particularly, even in this very affair, having defer'd it for some years, in obedience to their commands.

AND more especially, as the favour ask'd, is really no other, than to deliver them from persecution, and permit them to enjoy their natural rights: To restore subjects, whose dutiful behaviour intitled them to be consider'd amongst the best, to enjoy only what is the right of the worst. They ask not to be put into any employment, but to remove an incapacity; nay, to remove, or alter, laws, which punish for not executing of offices, and at the same time incapacitate them to execute those offices.

Y

THE

THE situation therefore of the ministry, with regard to the Dissenters, calls on them to use every degree of influence which is lawful and parliamentary in their behalf.

FOR tho' they would have little to apprehend from the Dissenters, from a contrary conduct; who, tho' they saw themselves disappointed for want of their assistance, would lay by their resentments, and find excuse for having been banter'd into a delay, which was to give their enemies time to defeat them: Perhaps they might even go so far, as to realize the character of *Jack* in the *Tale of the tub*, and take the box of the ear for favour, and consult again with their good friends how they may be most shamefully and effectually abused: I say, whatever is to be hop'd from the *meekness* of our Protestant brethren, yet, in such a case, the gentlemen in the administration would appear to act so inconsistent with their characters, their principles, the liberties of mankind, and their obligations of gratitude, that it is impossible to be believ'd such a thing can ever happen, whatever some men, who have private reasons to fear this matter's being brought on, may falsely suggest.

As for those *Whigs*, whose misfortune is, on some occasions to differ in their sentiments from gentlemen in the administration there is no reason to suspect, that, on the occasion, they will be desirous to shew, that they differ as much from the principles of

Whiggish

Whiggism and the cause of liberty, as they do, on other occasions, from the measures of the ministry: The only dispute which can here reasonably be expected between them and the *Whigs* in the administration is, which of them shall bring in the bill.

THE assistance of our church, as far as it is proper, and parliamentary, is also to be relied on by the Dissenters in this attempt. The removing all causes of dissention, is the real interest, as well as the favourite care of our clergy; who are so well convinced of the justice of the Dissenters claim, and of the good effects which may be expected from the repeal of such laws, that I may affirm it to be an assertion of a very eminent prelate, most zealous for the rights of the church, That he had himself been for all the former repeals, and should be for THIS, if a way could be propos'd to keep out the Papists. Which, as it may be done, we doubt not but the example and influence of this great man will be regarded by our church; who, by their candour and charity on this occasion, will shew their desire of christian unity; which consists, as the great Dr. *Clark* express'd it, not in the unity of *opinions* in the bands of *ignorance*, nor in the unity of *profession* in the bands of *hypocrisy*, but in unity of the *Spirit* in bands of *peace*.

I MUST here mention, that as oft as the fears of popery are urg'd as reasons for the continuance of the test, it must be observ'd,

that the Dissenters have not shewn less concern for the protestant interest than ourselves: That when the dangers of popery were real, from there being a profess'd Papist next in succession to the crown, their zeal carried them so far, as to consent, nay to desire, to be subject to the inconveniencies of this l—, tho' oppressive in itself, and insufficient to answer the purposes propos'd by it; nor have they attempted its repeal, till the succession of the present royal family to the throne, secur'd us from all such dangers; and experience, join'd to reason, had evinc'd the injustice of the l—, and its insufficiency to answer its purpose: That the *Roman Catholics* may have dispensations which remove from them all the inconveniencies of this law, whenever the interests of their religion require it; and that it is to the pope alone, that any benefits we have from this law is owing; that it's only the Dissenters who are affected by it; and that other laws now in force most effectually answer the intention of this.

THE Dissenters themselves, as they are immediately concern'd in this affair, so is their conduct greatly material to its success. A becoming steadiness and moderation, is what their friends rely on; since without it they may be assured of being baffled in this attempt, and precluded too from all others, and reduced to a most abject and divided state of insignificancy. Whereas now they are in
capacity

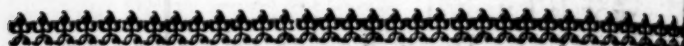
capacity, by unanimity and calmness, to make their worth known, and to reap most valuable fruits from their honest attempt, tho' it should miscarry; and particularly, that of future union amongst themselves, and being vindicated from the imputation of being lovers of Dissention, and desirous to keep up every cause of complaint, lest their numbers should diminish. I won't mention stories of bribery, &c. which can never gain belief from any thinking man; tho' the vulgar do give credit to any unworthy aspersions, to blacken those who have more virtue than themselves.

As for men who are fond of being call'd high-church, and thought *Jacobites*, I own I have little hopes of their favouring Dissenters; but they will at least act cautiously, for every man makes every case of persecution his own. If a Dissenter is to be persecuted for his religion to-day, I may be so for mine to-morrow. *Smithfield* has not remov'd its place a hair's-breadth, during the last century; and the same question may reasonably be ask'd every persecutor, (*i. e.* every one who would make himself a judge over his brethren, in cases where he has no reasonable jurisdiction) which the *Israelite* ask'd *Moses*, intendest thou to kill me, as thou didst the *Egyptian*? I am,

S I R,

Your's, &c.

HUGO DE BURGO.



N U M B. XXXVIII.

To the OLD WHIG.

S I R,

SINCE you was so good as to insert in your Paper, a Letter which I receiv'd from *A. Z.* in favour of our religious constitution ; I hope you will not think that *this* less deserves a place there, which is design'd in favour of the rights of subjects, for the particular honour of the church of *England*, and to promote the interests of virtue and true religion. I am,

S I R,

Your humble Servant,

P. Q.

A second Letter to a Friend in the Country.

Dear Sir,

I THANK you for your kind reception of my last in favour of our present religious constitution ; and I take it for a further mark of your approbation, since I was willing

ling you should make what use of it you pleased, that you gave it the public in the OLD WHIG: For I know, if you had not thought the sentiments just, you would have kept the mistakes, or the mere amusement, to yourself. You have now injoin'd me a harder task, at least one I am not so well qualified for. I think I am better able to judge concerning *truth* and *reason*, than the *policies* and *designs* of men in society: However, I submit to your commands.

You tell me, that you hear the *Dissenters* are agreed, and have the permission of our great folks, to try their interest this session, for the repeal of the test act. Hereupon you gravely ask me, *What views and designs they can have in it? And what sort of interests and people they can hope, or expect, to engage with them?* I know you don't believe I can tell you any secrets on this head; nor do you imagine, that I can let you into any policies of state, or schemes of a party. My private life, and my political infidelity, have taken off all that curiosity and confidence which might qualify me for such a station. You must therefore put these questions to me in a mere speculative and philosophical way; and as such I shall try to answer them, from the nature of things, the tempers of men, and the interests and circumstances of affairs, as I apprehend them.

THE first most obvious and immediate design the *Dissenters* seem to have, must nat-

turally be to get rid of the *reproach* and *burthen*, that must needs lie upon them from such a law as the test act. Some of them are really hinder'd by scruples of conscience from that usefulness to society which they are otherwise well qualified for ; and shut out from those advantages which they have a natural right to, in common with all good and faithful subjects : And all of them are unrighteously branded with this mark of reproach, as if their principles, and even their religion, made them unfit to be trusted and employ'd with others in the offices and privileges of society, contrary to all truth, reason, and experience. This must be allow'd to be a great hardship, which they may reasonably and justly wish and endeavour to remove. But this is indeed a very partial and particular view ; and truly if it be consider'd in that light only, and as the relief and advantage of a party, or the interest of the *Dissenters* as a separate body of the people ; I don't know whether there are not inconveniencies and dangers in the attempt fully sufficient to balance all their hopes. Not to mention the envy and ill-will that it must stir up and foment among their enemies, to prevent their desires, or to stir up some equivalent vexation ; is not mildness and toleration the most natural and effectual method of dividing and destroying them as a party ? To take off the keenness and spirit of opposition, and the marks of distinction,

and

and every handle of reproach and pretence of injury ? I'm sure truth and experience demonstrate this. We must therefore look a little further, and see what other views *they* may well be supposed to have who understand the natures and interests of a party, better than to be thus deceiv'd.

I DOUBT not, many who are true friends to this government and administration, know, that by the removal of this impediment, many hands and hearts, especially in corporations, will be set at liberty to serve their country ; and that thereby, the strength and influence of our present happy *establishment* will be greatly increased.

SOME there are again, that have a true zeal for the *honour* and *purity* of the christian religion, which they believe and profess ; and are justly scandaliz'd at so unnatural and profane a use of a solemn and religious institution ; and whether it does, or does not, immediately affect the particular communion of christians to which they resort, would however rejoice to see so great a blot remov'd from a christian church, and that excellent religion clear of all such base and mean prostitution.

OTHERS yet may herein regard the *rights* of mankind, and the *interests* of virtue. They may scorn the low and partial contrivances of political hypocrites, to ingross privileges and possessions to themselves, by encroaching on the properties and consciences

ces of their fellow-creatures ; and may justly wish that all these temptations to hypocrisy, and to pretences of religion, were out of the way ; that truth and virtue might be left to its native beauty and excellence, and might not be corrupted by worldly interests and human policies.

You see now what views these people may fairly be allow'd to have, and may thus easily answer your self the latter part of your question : But *as the interests and people, that they may hope or expect to engage with them in this attempt*, are more and greater than one would at first imagine, I'll take a more particular account of them with you.

IN the first place then, all those who feel themselves thus *oppressed and injured* by their scrupulous way of thinking, will naturally exert all their influence to promote this repeal ; and all those who think this case a real hardship, and are disposed to do every one common justice, may reasonably be expected to join in the same design. Indeed such as consider the dissenting interest as a distinct and separate party ; or even as a set of people peculiarly concerned for liberty in opposition to any ecclesiastical impositions, and who understand well the nature and spirit of a party ; will see, as I said before, that this repeal is not very desirable in this view ; and that it will rather calm and blind the uneasy resentments of other restraints, that
by

by the continuance of so plain and reproachful a violence, are more easily raised and seen,

ALL those, in the next place, who are heartily concerned for the support of the present *government* and *administration*, should be willing to increase the power and influence of such who are true and zealous friends to it. Every capacity of serving a society that can be put into the hands of those who will faithfully employ it, is so much strength justly gain'd against any of its enemies; and if there are any who would not rejoice in such a point gain'd, or who might be disposed, thro' envy or selfishness, to withdraw their assistance, in resentment of so equitable a procedure; will they not be justly suspected to have been all along seeking their own interests under pretence of public service? And will they not shew a most unrighteous and unchristian spirit towards their fellow-subjects and fellow-christians? However the management of these political interests does not come under our present speculation. 'Tis sufficient, that all honest and real friends of the present government, *ought* to give their assistance towards this repeal.

ANOTHER set of people, who may fairly be expected to join their influence, are all those who are really concerned for the *honour* and *purity* of the christian religion. Such, no doubt, would rejoice to see so sacred a rite of that holy religion rescued from being

ing a tool of ambition, and an engine of secular interest. Those who esteem this profession as founded upon truth and reason, and naturally conducting its followers to the perfection of virtue and happiness, would wish it might be suffered to appear in its own beauty and simplicity, unallay'd with worldly aims, and uncorrupted with state policies. They cannot wish that any were enticed to embrace it from the least prejudice or temptation; much less that any were compell'd to the outward profession of it, or perhaps only to the legal profanation of its solemn rites. Those, indeed, who call themselves christians, only that they may partake of the profits and emoluments of the external profession of that religion; who inwardly laugh at the serious belief of it, or prefer any worldly gain to the best of its rewards; will act very consistently in maintaining these religious distinctions, and these separate arts of excluding honest men from common benefits.

BUT above all, those seem to me to be most concerned that this act should be repealed, who have a just and true *value* for *christianity* upon good and solid reasons, and have, moreover, an honest zeal for our religious establishment, as supposing it the best and purest profession of that religion. This may, at first sight, appear a sort of paradox; since this law is supposed by some, to have been made for the security and increase of the

the

the members of this establishment. However, I'll stand to my assertion, only desiring you to remember, that I am not here considering the adherence to the establishment as a party interest, or a worldly design ; for in that view, to be sure, all marks of distinction, be they never so unreasonable, or injurious, and all means of ingrossing gainful emoluments, tho' never so unrighteous, are quite in character, and not to be given up for the sake of any truth, religion, or even social good. But I am supposing this form of christianity which is establish'd, is profess'd upon the best principles, and in faithful preference of it to any other : Then I say, the virtuous and religious members of the church of *England* ought, in character, to be most zealous for the removal of this test act : As thereby the christian religion will be here profess'd more purely and honourably ; and their own peculiar communion will be freed from a most gross absurdity, and most high and just reproach. I here take it for granted, and surely I cannot be mistaken, that all the members of this church who conform on the best principles, see, that the making, a most solemn religious institution a civil test, is highly injurious to the christian faith, and an unreasonable hardship upon both the ministers and people of the establishment ; and that none of those who are so well disposed, can help allowing this to be a most gross error and blemish in their communion ; and
that

that all such will be ever ready to assist towards the farther purity and excellence of their own peculiar church. Those therefore who have a due zeal for the church of *England*, may fairly be expected to join and assist in this repeal. This I am very sure of, that no principles can justly defend conformity upon true and reasonable grounds, that will not equally oblige those who so conform to contend earnestly for the repeal of the test act.

BUT there is yet another sort of people who may be depended upon to promote this design, as it tends to maintain and advance the *rights* of *mankind*, and the *interests* of *virtue*. I distinguish this regard for the rights of men, and the interests of virtue, as a farther motive to engage some for this repeal; and I cannot help thinking, that all impartial lovers of truth and liberty, will see the reasonableness of taking off this injurious and reproachful test, and of restoring their fellow-subjects to their natural and social rights: And surely they would rejoice to see all the bars and discouragements to sincere virtue removed, whether they may be call'd worldly temptations or punishments, civil bribes to hypocritical profession, or negative persecutions of sincerity.

AND now I am very sensible that you'll say, I have made a great bustle about many interests, and divided and distinguish'd sorts and opinions of men; as if the strength
collected

collected for this same repeal was very considerable : Whereas, upon a careful inspection and examination, it is all parade, and they really make but a very insignificant and weak body ; being only a few *honest* and virtuous men, and some friends of the government, and some peculiar professors ; who are also to be undesigning religious people, without zeal, even for their own parties and distinctions. And what will you say, can this handful do, against the great multitude of selfish, interested, ambitious, ignorant and vicious men, who may all be enemies to this righteous scheme, or easily engaged by those who really are so ?

WHY truly I have little to say in reply. You know I am far from being sanguine about any political views, and much less so as to the success of any points of truth and right. I pretend not to say, that these speculations carry much force, or encourage any great hopes. All that I shall add is, that if men were a little thoughtful, and in earnest about these things, and could any way be induced to weigh and consider them ; they have so much truth and importance, that all rational minds must, in some degree, be influenced by them : And who can tell, if the cause was fairly stated to those who are concerned ; as corrupt as we are, or seem to be ; what spirit and zeal may arise in the breasts of men of *virtue* and *honour*, to be found

found faithful to the interests of *truth* and *liberty*? I am,

S I R,

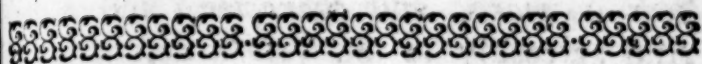
Your faithful humble Servant,

A. Z.

P. S. You know there is an objection to this repeal often made, and oftener pretended, that this law is necessary to exclude Papists, and was so intended. This consideration could not come within my answers to your queries, which related only to the right and reason of the repeal; and if it thereupon appears just, this test act is, in consequence, an unjust way of excluding them; and no doubt, if any greater security against them is necessary, than the laws in being against their practices, and proper tests of their allegiance and subjection to the present government; some others may be thought of, that may neither interfere with the common rights of subjects, nor corrupt the interests of religion and virtue.



NUMB.



N U M B. XXXIX.

IMPOSITION, in matters of *religion*, being proved in a late discourse publish'd in this paper to be immediately opposite to, and destructive of *christian liberty*; a virtual denying that the *scriptures* are the only rule of revealed truth; the foundation of *schism* and *heresy*, and the very *essence* of popery, which is not only irreligion and antichrist, but is even worse than *atheism* itself; a consideration upon *subscription to church-forms, interpretations of scripture, and human traditions*, very naturally follows a discourse on *christian liberty*, which is in no small degree affected by it.

SUBSCRIPTION is the cord, or chain, with which the consciences of men are ty'd, and held in bondage, to *imposed* forms and doctrines; and is, and always hath been, the great support of false religion.

As *Pagan* superstition requir'd the votaries of idols to shew their devotion to them, by continually offering incense upon their altars, and bearing the *marks* of them in their bodies; so *Popish* superstition requires all the
Z
worshippers

worshippers of the antichristian *beast*, to bear its *mark*, and *character*, and *name*. And agreeably to St. *John's* description of this tyrannical *imposing* power (*Rev.* xiii. 15, 16, 17.) none are allowed to *buy* or *sell*, to trade in *ecclesiastical merchandize*, or are capable of receiving any of the emoluments of the *church*, or even of the *state*, who have not the name of the *beast*, and subscribe to the worship of it.

THESE subscriptions to all the decrees and doctrines of the church, as being infallible, and equally obligatory on conscience with the word of God, and the bloody censures with which they are enforced, are the great bulwark of popery. And indeed, to do justice to the worst of enemies, it must be own'd, that the Papists are consistent in requiring, by *subscription*, an absolute submission of conscience to all the doctrines of their church, in consequence of its supposed *infallibility*. All *subscription*, in the nature of it, supposes the doctrines subscrib'd to be evidently and undoubtedly true; and therefore nothing but an absolute, or *infallible* certainty of the truth of doctrines can justify requiring such a subscription, as supposeth the absolute submission of the judgment to them: From whence it follows, that no authority, less than *divine*, is sufficient to require subscription to matters, or doctrines of religion [not known by the light of natural reason] as a rule of faith and religious practice

vice: And the only way for the church to be (as it ought to be, and may be) *infallible* in its doctrine and forms of worship, is to propose and require subscription and profession of none but such as are contain'd, and evidently taught and set forth in scripture, acknowledged to be the infallible word of God.

THE great error which Protestants in general ran into in their departure from the *Roman* church was, that in throwing off some of its grossest errors, they did not quite rase the foundation which supported these, and all its other errors, *viz.* the tyranny of *imposition*: And when they themselves had got liberty from this yoke of bondage, to *impose* their own doctrines on each other, and require *subscription* to them as to *necessary truths*, looks as if they liked the *power*, and only disapproved the *name* of popery. They could not but know, and own, that the Papists had the same right to require *subscription* to the doctrines of the *Roman* church, as they had to require it to the doctrines of theirs; unless they could prove their own particular doctrines, and interpretations of scripture, to be *really* and absolutely certain and *infallible*, as the Papists falsely pretend theirs to be. But their disclaiming *infallibility* as one of the greatest, and in consequence worst, of popish errors, was a reason which ought to have engaged them to disclaim, withal, a power and every degree of it, which could not be con-

sistently maintain'd, but on pretence, more or less, of this *infallibility*: And they would have more gloriously and happily consulted and established the *purity, peace, and unity* of the church of *Christ*, if, as they receiv'd the inspired scriptures, and avow'd them, (as the ground of the reformation itself) to be the *only rule* of their *faith* and *worship*, with a right of private judgment in the interpretation of them; they had, in intire consistency with this *ground, and rule, and right*, requir'd no *subscriptions*, or made nothing *necessary* to be receiv'd as matter of *faith*, or *worship*, or a term of *communion*, but the doctrines which these scriptures expressly declare to be necessary to salvation.

As *subscription* to human forms of doctrine and worship is chiefly requir'd of the clergy, and has been introduced by their means, and by their influence on the secular power; so it chiefly belongs to them to consider seriously how far, and in what degree, christian truth and liberty are diminish'd, or hurt by it, and to endeavour by the same influence which they may, and ought to have, to be in like manner, the means of removing all imposition in the subscription of any thing, merely as matter of religion, but scripture-doctrine and worship only.

As this church was never blessed with a more learned and truly christian body of clergy, than it hath in it at present, so it cannot but be hoped, that they will piously lay

to heart this point, which so particularly affects their consciences above the rest of the members of the church. For it seems to me unavoidably to follow, from the nature of subscription to any human forms of religion, or to any thing but the scripture-doctrines themselves, that these human forms and doctrines must thereby be render'd as necessary, and as much a rule of faith and worship, as the scripture-doctrine itself: Therefore again, that they must be esteem'd to be as undoubtedly true and certain as the word of God, and the conscience be obliged equally to submit to them as to *the word of God*; and so the right of *private judgment* and conscience, is evidently, in virtue and consequence of this subscription, deny'd or taken away.

It follows also, that *human* interpretations and forms being thus made *equal* with the *divine* scripture, and a part of the rule of faith and worship, it becomes necessary to reconcile them to each other, that no inconsistency or error may be found in the church. And there are but two possible ways of doing this; either by taking a latitude in interpreting the scripture, and drawing it from its obvious and plain sense, to make it agree with human church-forms where it appears to disagree with them, which is the *Popish* method: Or else to take a latitude in interpreting the church-forms, and drawing them from their obvious and plain sense, to make

them agree with scripture, where they seem to disagree with it, which is the *Protestant* method. But I cannot but heartily wish that the clergy, particularly, would consider what danger to *conscience* and *religion* arise from either of those methods in the use of subscription. By the first, they manifestly prevaricate with the *word of God*, by wresting and perverting the *scripture* for the sake of holding *human* traditions: And by the second (which may seem less irreligious) they evidently prevaricate with human laws, in wresting the forms of the church to a sense they will not bear, and which was never intended by the imposers of them, for the sake of reconciling them to what they think is the true sense of scripture.

AND these unavoidable difficulties attending *subscription*, which have always been felt and complained of by the best and most worthy members of the church, and which render it highly deserving the consideration of every christian, whether in a private or public station, have made many (I fear the most) of those who are subscribers, in order to live on the patrimony of the church, to subscribe blindly, implicitly and at random, without examining at all the matters subscribed to; or whether the scripture and church-forms and doctrine are, or can be made, consistent with each other: And what a gap this last method lays open to all irreligion and immorality, and at last to introduce

duce popery again by a total indifference in matters of religion, and (instead of the love of God and his truth) by a love of worldly interest and power, is obvious to every serious and rational mind.

AND when men have used their consciences to submit carelessly and implicitly to ecclesiastical *subscriptions*, without examining or regarding whether the matters subscribed be true or not; they will naturally be led to use them with the same indifference and disregard in their *oaths* and obligations to the state. And as it is always observable, that they who subscribe with the least *understanding* and *conscience*, and are resolved to profess any thing at random which the church requires, for the sake of obtaining her benefits and favours, are the most zealous for imposing any subscriptions upon the consciences of others, and thereby for narrowing the bounds of the church, and excluding all, who are not like themselves, out of it; so it becomes others who ('tis hoped) are not a few, nor of small influence and regard among their fellow-christians, to be equally zealous, by their best christian endeavours, to remove this scandal to religion, and danger both to *church* and *state*; and by conscientiously *giving to Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's*, and steddily and invariably *giving to God the things which are God's*; subscribing, with a sincere and pious heart, to the laws only of the latter in matters of religion, and submitting to the

good government of the former with the same sincerity and fidelity ; thus to maintain and preserve, with the honour of both, the undoubted rights of society and liberty of conscience ; and to make perfect that reformation of religion from popery which was well begun, but left imperfect, as the most learned and pious churchmen have seen and confess'd.

To the purpose of promoting the good end design'd by this discourse. and which I hope will excuse the freedom of it, I shall conclude it with the opinion and advice of some eminent persons, whose sentiments are highly deserving our attention and regard.

CONSTANTINE the great, the first christian emperor, in his famous speech to the council of *Nice*, told them, * “ That the
 “ writings of the evangelists and the apostles,
 “ and the oracles of the ancient prophets,
 “ clearly taught them what notions they
 “ ought to have concerning God ; and
 “ therefore he advis'd them to lay aside all
 “ animosity and contention, and to make
 “ the *inspir'd scriptures alone*, the foundation and guide of their determinations
 “ about religion”.

THE very learned † *Erasmus* who was a moderate Papist, hath given his opinion, that the best way to reconcile to the church those

* *Theodoret. Eccles. Hist.* B. I. Ch. 7.

† *Epist.* 478. *Joh. Sleeta Bohem.* edit. Lugd. Bat. 1703. Tom. 3.

who dissent from it, would be, if the church would not require *its own definitions* to be received *as matters of faith*; but those doctrines only which are *clearly expressed in the sacred writings*, and which are declared to be *necessary to salvation*: In which respect, he adds, *a few articles are sufficient*; and that *a few will sooner be receiv'd than many*.

AND the late learned archbishop of Canterbury says, in his sermon on *Rom. xv. v. 5, 6, 7*. "It has never gone well with the church of Christ, since men have been so *narrow-spirited*, as to mix the *contraries of faith* with their *public forms of worship*; and have made their liturgies instead of being *offices of devotion* to God, become *tests and censures* of the opinions of their brethren". And what the consequence of imposing subscription to such public forms is, and hath been, and is always like to be, we learn from the late pious and learned Bishop *Burnet*, who has left his sentiments in these remarkable words, *viz.* "The requiring *subscription* to the *thirty-nine articles* is a *great imposition*:— The greatest part subscribe without ever examining them; and others do it, because they must do it, tho' they can hardly satisfy their consciences about some things in them". *Hist. of his own times*, Vol. II. *conclus. p. 633.*



N U M B. XL.

To the OLD WHIG.

S I R,

HAVING observ'd the pains taken to represent the attempt for the repeal or explaining the test act, as the peculiar cause of the *Dissenters*, and design'd to increase their power and interest to the disadvantage of the *church*, I can't but wonder at the influence, which prejudice and party have to put false colours upon things ; since upon an impartial consideration of the case, it appears to me most evident, that the *Dissenters* are less concern'd in this repeal than the *church* of *England*. My reasons are, that by the test act this great hardship is laid upon the whole body of the clergy, that they are oblig'd under the penalty of being subject to a prosecution, which may ruin them, to admit to the communion the most profligate debauchees, infidels and atheists, who, they know, come with no other view, but to qualify themselves for a
post.

post. This I have known some of the clergy say, it made them even tremble to think of, and that they would venture any prosecution rather than submit to it. This hardship is the greater, because by the rubric of the Common-prayer, the minister is directed to refuse the sacrament to persons guilty of scandalous immoralities, giving thereupon notice to the ordinary within fourteen days. The proposed repeal will therefore, in reality, restore to the church a part of its constitution and power, which has been broke in upon by the test act, which therefore one would expect every pious clergyman would embrace with joy.

BUT it is apprehended, that by this repeal, a door will be opened for the admission of *Dissenters* to power and preferments which will strengthen their party to the prejudice of the *Church*. But is not the door open to 'em already, by the repeal of the *Occasional Conformity Act*? That gave admission to much the greater and more considerable part of the *Dissenters*; and this without any disadvantage or danger to the church, as those bishops, and other true friends of the church, who voted for it, were convinc'd by experience. As to the test act, there are few *Dissenters* of any figure, who scruple receiving the sacrament according to the church of *England*. As *Dissenters* therefore, they are little concerned in it: But as men of piety and conscience, who dare not prostitute the sacred institutions
of

of christianity to worldly purposes, there are many refuse the test ; and were they the strictest churchmen, they would have the same sentiments of the matter. It is not therefore as *Dissenters*, or with a view to the interest of their party, they are zealous for the proposed repeal ; but from a regard to the sacred ordinances of Christ, and the principles of liberty of conscience, with which they are convinced it is utterly inconsistent, to inflict so great a punishment as an incapacity on any man, merely for following the dictates of his conscience ; and that in matters of no consequence, either to the welfare of the state, or the substance of religion.

As therefore this is an affair, in which the honour of religion and the interest of liberty are at stake, there may certainly be expected the vigorous assistance of the *bishops* and principal dignitaries of the *church*, whose stations oblige 'em to embrace all opportunities of distinguishing their zeal for religion, and whose advancement by the present royal family, is owing to the reputation of their moderation, as well as piety and learning. If their lordships shall on this occasion appear with a zeal becoming their high office, for the rescuing the body and blood of Christ from the hands of the profligate and profane, and the maintaining of the principles of religious liberty, they will restore the church of God to her purity and
dignity,

dignity, so often violated by the debauchees and atheists : They'll deliver the pious part of the clergy from a grievance which they have so long groan'd under : They will effectually free that venerable body from the imputation of affecting a tyranny over the consciences of men : They will do more for the strengthening the interest of christianity, and checking the attempts of its enemies, than even their most zealous and learned writings have, or ever can do. Such a proof of their piety, generosity and moderation, would have a happy influence to calm mens minds, remove their prejudices, and gain them over to the church ; or however inspire an esteem and honour for it, and the fathers of it, in all wise and sober men, of whatever denomination.

BUT should their lordships, contrary to all reasonable expectation, obstruct the great design on foot, and by their great power and influence in parliament, and elsewhere, cause it to miscarry, it is grievous to think what a just odium it will draw upon their persons and characters. For all the guilt and scandal of the prostitution of the Lord's supper in all succeeding time by means of the test, all the mischief done to innumerable souls, who by it are continually tempted to profane the sacrament and wound their consciences, must all be charged to their account, who have refused to remove so great an evil, nay even hinder'd its removal, when
all

all sorts of people were ready to have concurr'd in it had they been encouraged by their authority. They'll afford a triumph to the enemies of christianity, and of their sacred order, who will from thence draw an unanswerable argument to justify their exclamations against the narrowness, bigotry, and ambition of the clergy, to lord it over the consciences of men, and draw all power into their hands. They'll fortify the prejudices of the *Dissenters* against them and the *Church*, and set them further off from it than ever. Nay by continuing to support and maintain a grievance so much complained of by pious men of all sorts, from merely worldly and political views, they'll give such just and great offence to many, even in the *Church* itself, as will tend to drive 'em away to the *Dissenters*. They'll check that spirit of liberty, mutual forbearance and toleration under differences of opinion, which has spread so much of late years in the church of *England*, to its peculiar honour above most other denominations of christians who have been in power; and will give a new rise to heats, contentions and bitterness of spirit, among christians and *Englishmen*, to the manifest weakening both church and state, and the increasing satisfaction of the enemies of both.

EVILS so great as these, I hope will never be imputed to the present set of bishops, whom their late and present majesties have,
with

with so much care and wisdom, chosen out of the whole body of clergy, to maintain the interests of religion and virtue in the parliament and nation.

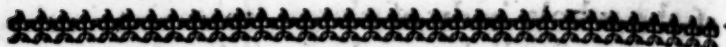
LET then all who are engaged in this glorious design, depend upon the concurrence of that reverend and honourable body. Let them address them with all respect and submission, for their advice and assistance. It will then find an easy passage thro' both houses of parliament, and be receiv'd with the highest satisfaction by the whole nation; and be an example of wisdom and moderation in the *English* church, worthy the imitation of all foreign churches and nations. I am,

S I R,

Your humble Servant,

A. B.

NUMB.



N U M B. XLI.

Μη δατε το αγιον τοις κυσι, μηδε βαλῃτε τοις μαργαριτας
υμων εμπροσθ των χοιρων.

*A LETTER to the Right Reverend the
Lord Bishop of LONDON.*

My LORD,

TIS now become the general report and common belief of this great city, that the *Protestant Dissenters* are universally determined, to make their *humble application* to the legislature, for the repeal or explanation of the corporation and test acts; an attempt, in which I am persuaded, all the true friends of religion and liberty, who earnestly desire the safety and *honour of our established church* in particular, must bid them *God speed*, and do all that they can to promote their success.

UPON this great and important occasion, my Lord, 'tis impossible that considerate men should not fix their eyes upon your Lordship, both upon account of your Lordship's eminent station and extensive influence in the church,

church, and because you have given undeniable evidence of your firm belief and concern for the success of christianity in your excellent *pastoral letters*, and have sufficiently declared your opinion of *the sacredness* and importance of the sacrament of the Lord's-supper, in your treatise concerning it, addressed to the inhabitants of the parish of *Lambeth*. Your Lordship will therefore forgive me, who believe the christian revelation myself, and wish the dignity of all its sacred institutions inviolably maintain'd, that I presume to give you the trouble of this public address, upon an occasion, on which the liberties of so valuable a part of his majesty's subjects, and the honour and interest of the christian religion amongst us, seem greatly to depend.

I SHALL not put your Lordship in mind, that the reasons alleged by the legislature for making these two acts, do not in the least affect the *Protestant Dissenters*; since they are persons known to *be well affected* to his majesty and the established government, and by principle and inclination enemies to popery; and that therefore it must be unreasonable to subject them to civil penalties in common with *evil and mischievous spirits*, and *popish recusants*, against whom the *corporation* and *test* acts were directly and immediately levelled. I choose rather to mention to your Lordship other reasons for the *repeal* or *explication* of them, drawn from *the nature* of the sacrament itself; and doubt not but that

I shall demonstrate, that your Lordship is, by virtue of your sacred character, your love to the religion you believe and profess, and your zeal for the interest of the established church, even *obliged*, pardon, my Lord, the expression, in opposition to all worldly *political* considerations, to give all the assistance you can, towards the removal of this grievance and scandal; as you would act becoming the dignity of your Lordship's sacred character, and give up your account with joy to the great and universal bishop of the christian church, before whom, my Lord, as *your superior* and judge, you must appear, and with whom there is no respect of persons.

THE *corporation act*, my Lord, expressly sets forth, that *to the end that the succession in corporations may be most probably perpetuated in the hands of persons well affected to his majesty and the established government, for the prevention of mischief for the time to come, and for the preservation of the public peace both in church and state*: be it enacted, &c. In like manner the *test act* provides: That for preventing dangers which may happen from popish recusants, and quieting the minds of his majesty's good subjects, all and every person or persons, that shall bear any office or offices, civil or military, or shall receive any pay, salary, fee, or wages, by reason of any patent or grant from his majesty, or shall have command or place of trust from or under his majesty, or by his authority, or by authority

rity derived from him, shall receive the sacrament of the Lord's-supper according to the usage of the church of England, within three months after his or their admittance in, or receiving their said authority or employment; and every of the said persons, in the respective court where he takes the oaths, shall deliver a certificate of such his receiving the said sacrament, under the hands of the respective minister and church-warden, and shall make proof of the truth thereof, by two credible witnesses upon oath: All which shall be inquired of, and put upon record in the respective courts.

THE penalties annexed to this act are dreadful, viz. An utter incapacity and disability of all such persons to enjoy such offices, &c. and if convicted of having been in office, and neglected the sacrament, to be disabled from thenceforth to sue or use any action, bill, plaint, or information, in course of law, or to prosecute any suit in any court of equity, or to be guardian of any child, or executor or administrator of any person, or capable of any legacy or deed of gift, or to bear any office, and to forfeit the sum of five hundred pounds.

'TIS plain from these acts, as cited from your Lordship's Codex, 1. That the end, for which the sacrament is ordered to be received, is purely civil, viz. that "the succession in corporations may be perpetuated in hands well affected to the king and constitution, to prevent mischief to the civil society, to preserve the public peace in church

“ and state, to prevent dangers from popish
 “ recusants, and to quiet the minds of good
 “ subjects,” who were apprehensive of those
 dangers.

2. 'TIS farther evident, that all and every person or persons, without exception, who shall bear any office, &c. are compelled and obliged to receive the sacrament, whosoever they be, that accept any employment, civil or military, under his majesty; or whom his majesty, by virtue of his royal prerogative, may command to accept any office or offices under him; they are, I say, obliged, under the most severe penalties, to receive the Lord's-supper, as his or their proper qualification, to hold or enjoy such places, pensions, &c. and that without any regard to their faith or morals, whether they know themselves fit or unfit for it, or whether their consciences forbid or persuade them to do it. Receiving the sacrament is the only qualification which the law prescribes, and which immediately and directly renders them capable of enjoying their office and executing their trust.

3. IN consequence of this, the acts farther *oblige* the clergy of our established church, to give the Lord's-supper *indefinitely* to all and every person or persons, that bear any office or offices, who demand it of them; because the laws which *oblige* persons in such offices to *receive*, under such very severe penalties, must *oblige* the clergy, who have the sole right
 of

of administering it, *to administer* it to them for this purpose. So that as the receiving the sacrament is the legal qualification for the office, so the being nominated to an office is the strict legal right to a man's receiving the sacrament, and what obliges every minister to give it upon the other's demanding it. I beg leave to add,

4. THAT as the clergy are obliged thus to give the sacrament indefinitely to all that have places, &c. so they are obliged to give it *as a civil qualification*, as well as those who receive it are obliged to receive it as such. If any member of the established church receives the sacrament every *sunday as a christian*, and from a spirit of *devotion*, your Lordship knows this is no legal qualification. No : Mr. *Church-warden* must be placed as a *witness*, and called upon as an evidence. *A certificate* must be drawn up, and the *minister* and *church-warden*, under their respective hands, must *testify* such person's having received the said sacrament, as his qualification ; which certificate is *to be delivered in court*, where he must make proof of the truth thereof *by two credible witnesses upon oath* ; all which is to be *inquired of*, and put upon record in the said court. So that the use and intention of this said sacrament, is *purely civil*, and known to be so by the person who administers, and by him who receives it ; and both the giver and the receiver testify and record it in open court.

UPON these accounts, my Lord, I have ever thought the sacramental test a very great reflection and blemish upon this our established protestant church, and have been amongst the number of those who have heartily wished for the repeal of it. I have wish'd it as an *Old Whig*, because I apprehend it a real infringement upon the liberties of the subject. I have wished it as a *Consistent Protestant*, because I am sure it must occasion frequent prostitutions of one of the peculiar institutions of our blessed Saviour, and is in its nature, a perversion of the design and use of it. I have wish'd it as a *friend* to the honour and prosperity of our *established church*, which suffers by this practice, in the judgment and opinion of many of its own best members, and is reproached upon account of it, by all her enemies without exception. Under this disposition I was determined to make this public appeal to your Lordship, and the world, and to urge the necessity of removing this scandal, from principles of religion and charity, and from the very nature of the sacrament itself, as laid down by your Lordship, in your own excellent treatise concerning it. And I promise myself, that such a freedom will not be displeasing to your Lordship; since 'tis to you, my Lord, and the rest of the venerable fathers of our church, that complaints ought to be addressed, when religion itself is prostituted, and one of the most sacred institutions of our Saviour's

Saviour's worship perverted from its original intention, and debased so as to be made subservient to the *contemptible ends* of human policy and party. Your Lordship therefore, will give me leave to argue upon this subject,

I. FROM the nature and end of this sacrament itself. As to which I cannot better express myself, than in your Lordship's own words, * which are these: *The sacrament of the Lord's-supper is an ordinance of the gospel, appointed by Jesus Christ, to preserve in christians a perpetual remembrance of his death, and to make them partakers of the benefits of it; i. e. the view of it is entirely religious, and the benefits to be obtained by it are purely spiritual.* But, my Lord, for what ends is the sacrament appointed to be received by act of parliament? What are the benefits which the partakers of it, according to that act, are to be intitled to? Your Lordship will not be displeased to see them stand opposite to one another.

According to your Lordship, the sacrament is appointed "To preserve in christians a perpetual

According to act of parliament, the same sacrament is appointed TO THE END *that the succession in corporations may be most probably perpetuated in the hands of*

* *Sac. of the Lord's Sup. explained. Ed. 5th, p. 11.*

“ tual remembrance
“ of the death of
“ Christ.”

*persons well affected to
his majesty and the
established government.*

“ To commemo-
“ rate his love to
“ mankind in laying
“ down his life.” p.

*For the prevention
of mischief for the time
to come.*

22.

“ To commemo-
“ rate the great de-
“ liverance wrought
“ for mankind, and
“ the great blessings
“ and benefits which
“ his death insured
“ to them.” *ibid.*

*To preserve the pub-
lic peace both in church
and state.*

“ To put christi-
“ ans into the cir-
“ cumstances of those
“ who beheld our Sa-
“ viour hanging on
“ the cross.” p. 23.

*For preventing dan-
gers which may happen
from popish recusants.*

“ To excite here-
“ by in them a great
“ thankfulness, and
“ a suitable sense of
“ duty.” *ibid.*

*For quieting the
minds of his majesty's
good subjects.*

Is there any agreement, my Lord, in those ends of the sacraments which your Lordship mentions, and those which are assigned by the two acts of parliament? And as the ends expressly mentioned are thus perfectly different from each other, so also, my Lord,
are

are the benefits to be respectively received. When they stand in opposition, they will appear thus :

THE sacrament is appointed according to your Lordship,

" To make men partakers of the benefits of Christ's death."

" Of the forgiveness of sins." p. 24.

" And of all spiritual blessings, in order to eternal happiness after this life." *ibid.*

THE sacrament is commanded to be taken according to act of parliament,

To qualify persons for bearing office or offices under his majesty, civil or military.

To receive pay, salary, fee or wages.

To have command or place of trust, from or under his majesty, or by his authority, or by authority derived from him.

So that in your Lordship's judgment, in which all good christians must agree with you, the benefits to be received by *Christ's sacrament* are purely spiritual; whereas the benefits connected with *the parliamentary sacrament* are purely temporal. Is not therefore, my Lord, the sacrament, as appointed by Christ, quite another thing, in the ends it proposes, and the benefits it answers, from the sacrament as appointed by act of parliament?

IF, my Lord, *the enjoying any place* of profit or trust under his majesty, or the receiving any pay, salary, fee, or wages, or having

having any command, or place of trust, from or under him, was made by act of parliament *a qualification* for a christian's *receiving the sacrament* in the church of *England*; would not your Lordship, and the rest of your venerable order, justly exclaim against it as a very unreasonable and unnatural thing? Would you not justly argue, what connection is there between the one and the other? How came *politics* to be thus blended with *religion*, and worldly preferments to be made *the test* of persons rights to the privileges of christian communion? My Lord, I apprehend the reasoning is as strong on the other side; and that if it may be proved, from the nature and end of the Lord's-supper, to be a very absurd thing, to make the having a place, and the receiving a pension, necessary for receiving the sacrament; it may be proved as absurd by the same reason, to make receiving the sacrament necessary to the enjoying a place, or having a pension. For is not, my Lord, the question as natural, How came heaven and earth, religious and worldly views, to be thus confounded? What connection is there between receiving the sacrament as a remembrance of Christ's death, and as a qualification for a common-council-man or *excise-man*? If our Saviour designed it only as a means to make men partakers of the benefit of his death, of spiritual blessings in order to eternal happiness; whence is it, my Lord, that 'tis so frequently

frequently given in all our churches, as a means to make men partakers of civil and military offices; of pay, salaries and wages, under and from the crown?

YOUR Lordship, I am sure, hath not mentioned one word of these worldly honours and advantages, in your account of the nature of the Lord's-supper. You expressly confine the benefits of receiving it *to the benefits purchased by the death of Christ.* And when your Lordship considers how constantly 'tis administered in many churches of this great city, which is immediately under your pastoral inspection, to make men partakers of quite other kind of benefits; benefits which have no * *connection with the death of Christ, and that deliverance from that slavery of sin and Satan which he wrought for mankind by his own blood: Benefits, † of which the sacramental bread and wine can never be a memorial, and which can never be received, § in order to eternal happiness after this life:* How must it concern and affect your Lordship's heart, to see this *holy sacrament, this ‡ most holy and significant ordinance and mystery of our religion,* as your Lordship calls it, so perverted from its original use, and applied to such purposes as the Saviour of the world never once intended it should be made to answer. If, my Lord, the being members of

* p. 20.

† p. 21.

§ p. 24.

‡ p. 30.

corporations,

corporations, the bearing offices under, or receiving pay or salaries from his majesty, had any tendency to make men partakers of the benefits of Christ's death; if secular honours and profits were a sure or probable step to the honours and riches of the kingdom of God; or if the prospect of them could help men in their preparation *for the due receiving of this holy sacrament*, or assist them in those holy meditations, and thoughts, and prayers, which your Lordship hath prescribed * as proper *at the time of receiving*; no man would complain of the misapplication of the sacrament, when given and received in obedience to act of parliament. But your Lordship need not be told, that these spiritual ends can ever be answered by secular benefits and prospects, and that 'tis impossible that the sacrament can ever unite them. And therefore if the world believes that your Lordship hath acted *a sincere* and christian part, in the account you have given of the nature and ends of the sacrament, they must in consequence believe, that you disapprove and condemn, in your conscience and judgment, the application of the sacrament to ends and purposes, quite contrary to those your Lordship hath laid down, as the true reasons of its original appointment. The maintaining in a written dis-

* p. 127.

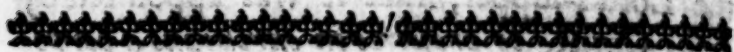
course concerning the nature and ends of the Lord's-supper, that it was appointed by Jesus Christ, *to preserve in christians a perpetual remembrance of his death, and to make them partakers of the benefits of it*; and yet to maintain, by your Lordship's influence and interest, that it may, and ought to be applied, to render men partakers of civil places and pensions; carries in it such an evident mark of *inconsistency* and *insincerity*, as no good man ought ever to impute to your Lordship, and as can never be believed, without repeated demonstration, by

My LORD,

Your Lordship's most obedient servant,

The CONSISTENT PROTESTANT.





N U M B. XLII.

A second LETTER to the Lord Bishop
of LONDON.

*Spreto igitur argento et pecuniis — pergamus
ad eum qui tenens calicem sacramenti, lo-
quebatur : Accipite et bibite. HIERON.*

My LORD,

I TOOK the liberty, in my last address to your Lordship, to argue from the general account you have laid down of the sacrament of the Lord's-supper, the impropriety and unreasonableness of making it a *civil test* for secular places and pensions ; because your Lordship makes the view of this sacrament, and the benefits to be obtain'd by it, purely religious. I beg leave to pursue this argument a little farther.

YOUR Lordship tells the inhabitants of *Lambeth*, from the church catechism, (*) that a sacrament in general is an outward and visible sign of an inward and spiritual grace

(*) p. 28.

given unto us, ordain'd by Christ himself, as a means whereby we receive the same, and a pledge to assure us thereof. But your Lordship well knows, that this definition of a sacrament, doth by no means agree to the use of the sacrament according to act of parliament; which I humbly conceive may, and ought to be thus defined: The sacrament of the Lord's-supper is an outward and visible sign of an outward and secular grace given unto us, ordain'd by King, Lords and Commons, in parliament assembled, as a means whereby we may receive the same, and a pledge to assure us thereof. This outward and secular grace is a good place under the king, or a comfortable pension from his majesty; and the sacrament is the sign of it, the means to obtain it, and the pledge to assure us of it, because the sacrament is appropriated to this purpose by parliament, and made the immediate qualification for receiving it.

YOUR Lordship farther affirms that, ^(b) *the holy sacrament is a covenant*; that ^(c) " 'tis on
" God's part a perpetual pledge and assu-
" rance to men, of all that he hath promised
" them thro' Christ; and on man's part, it is
" a profession of obedience, and a pleading
" the merits of Christ in the presence of
" God, and a representation made before
" him of the passion of his son, to the end

(^b) p. 23. (^c.) p. 24.

" that

“ that he may be favourable and propitious
 “ to us, according to the tenour of that co-
 “ venant”. If these things are true, surely,
 my Lord, it must be a misapplication of this
 sacrament to apply it to a covenant of a per-
 fectly different nature. It cannot be wisely
 or christianly done, to teach men, I should
 say oblige them, to receive it as a *pledge and*
assurance of quite other things. For, as 'tis
 received in obedience to parliament, and as
 a qualification for a place or pension, 'tis
 not, I presume, a pledge and assurance on
 God's part, of any thing to those who thus
 receive it : 'Tis indeed, on man's part, a so-
 lemn *covenant*, or profession of obedience to
 the powers of this world, and a *pleading*,
 not the merits of Christ in the presence of
 God, but their own merits, *in the presence of*
the minister, church-wardens and witnesses ;
 and a representation made before them of
 their compliance with the act of parliament,
 to the end that they may enjoy their places
 and pensions *according to the tenor of* those
 acts.

YOUR Lordship adds, (^d) that this sacrament
 is not only a sign, but an *assuring sign* ; and
 that “ the sacramental bread and wine,
 “ like the manna and rock in the wilderness,
 “ are not only emblems of Christ, but pledges
 “ which assure all faithful receivers, of their
 “ enjoying him with all his benefits”. My

(^d) p. 24.

Lord, *the manna* which is sought by qualifiers at the sacrament, is the manna of *silver and gold*, and the bread and wine are the emblems of a livelihood. And to use the words your Lordship makes use of, (°) with a very little alteration: *In the sacrament they consider the visible sign, but chiefly the visible thing thereby signified and confirmed, which visible thing is always double. First, the root or fountain. Secondly, the gracious blessings and benefits which flow from it. The root and fountain is the king, from whom they receive all the blessings and benefits of pensions and places. And therefore as the king confers none of these blessings but thro' the sacrament, so the manner and nature of this sacrament is, to assure and confirm unto us, those temporal blessings for which we qualify our selves by receiving it.*

IN (†) *this account of the institution, nature and efficacy, of the sacrament of Christ's body and blood, no doubt, my Lord, but that the generality of men will find sufficient arguments, not only to persuade and dispose them to be partakers of it, but to desire it zealously, and to come to it as frequently as the act of parliament requires them, as an institution and exercise, that is full of secular comforts, blessings and benefits. When they (§) consider the happy effects of a due use of this ordinance, as it gives them fresh nourishment, and is the*

(°) p. 25.

(†) p. 31.

(§) p. 32.

means of conveying to them new supplies from his majesty ; surely none, who do in earnest labour for a place or pension, and at the same time feel their own wants and necessities, can need much persuasion to use the proper means of obtaining these secular benefits to support and strengthen them.

YOUR Lordship will forgive me this application of your words, since my design is not either to *ridicule* your Lordship's doctrine, or to treat *so serious a subject* as that of the Lord's-supper *with scorn* or contempt. I believe with your Lordship, that there *is a reverence due to all the offices of religion* ^(h); and from the reverence I bear to them, I beg leave to express my concern to your Lordship, at the perversion of the nature and design of the sacrament, which the corporation and test acts have so long occasioned ; and at those mean and unworthy views, with which many who come to it as a qualification, can't but be supposed to receive it ; which was all that I intended by applying your Lordship's words to those views : Views as inconsistent with the plainest accounts of holy scripture, as with your Lordship's express doctrine. For as your Lordship expresses it, in order to persuade christians to frequent communion : ⁽ⁱ⁾ *The communion of Christ's body and blood, as represented by bread and wine in this holy sacrament, is made the stand-*

(h) p. 74.

(i) p. 34.

ng memorial of his death and sufferings in all christian assemblies, to the end of the world. Agreeable to this account, is our saviour's express command : *This do ye in remembrance of me.* And St. Paul's order is : ^(k) *This do ye, as oft as ye drink it, in remembrance of me.* Not, *This do ye*, as the act of parliament requires, to *qualify yourselves* for a pension or a place. This, my Lord, is not the language of the New Testament, nor agreeable to the custom of the primitive christians. If the passage your Lordship mentions out of *Pliny* relates to the sacrament, it will appear, that their end in receiving it, was *truly religious* and spiritual ; since *Pliny* only affirms, they obliged themselves *not to commit any wickedness, such as thefts, robberies, adulteries, and the like ;* and your Lordship well knows, that no instance can be produced from genuine antiquity, to favour this practice of turning the churches of God into *qualification-offices*, and converting the sacrament into an engine of state-craft, and the low test of a party. No, my Lord, this is the policy of latter times, and I am sorry to say it, *the peculiar glory* of the protestant church of *England*. ^(l) *Not that our Saviour or his Apostles had made it their command thus to celebrate the holy communion ; but such is the fervent zeal of these modern times for their dying Lord, that they will not suffer so much as a*

(k) P. 33.

(l) P. 35.

poor exciseman to enjoy his place, without first forcing him to receive the sacred memorials of his body and blood.

BUT can such a use of the sacrament, my Lord, tend to make men partakers of those spiritual benefits, which, as your Lordship expresses it, ^(m)are conveyed to every sincere receiver in a *supernatural way*? No. The patrons of this practice shall never have the honour of your Lordship's judgment to concur with them in this. You are, my Lord, in conscience and profession against it. For you expressly declare, ⁽ⁿ⁾*That repairing to the Lord's-table is the means which Christ himself hath appointed for these (spiritual) ends, and being observed in obedience to his command, will be always attended with a more especial blessing.* Now, my Lord, is repairing to the Lord's-table as to a *qualification-board*, a means to obtain a *more especial blessing*? Is this *observing the means* which he hath appointed in obedience to his command? Hath Christ appointed the sacrament for the ends of worldly ambition, and secular profits? To affirm this, would be to reproach the Saviour of mankind, and, were it true, would carry such a reflection upon his religion, as all the art of men would never be able to wipe off.

YOUR Lordship, in speaking of the particular preparations for the due receiving the

(^m) p. 35.

(ⁿ) p. 46.

holy sacrament, hath these awful and affecting words : (°) *This being the highest and most solemn institution of the christian religion, and being also a work of an holy and heavenly nature, the heart must be withdrawn from the thoughts and business of the world, and put into an holy and heavenly frame, suitable to the business it is to be employed about.* And is the sacrament, my Lord, in reality *the highest and most solemn institution* of the christian religion, as your Lordship pronounces it; and can your Lordship and your right reverend brethren, who are the proper *over-seers* of the church of *England*, whose office it is to prevent, and do all you can to remove, the profanations of the ordinances of our Saviour ; can you, my Lord, sit contented and easy, to see it made *so cheap* and despicable, as to be forced upon every pensioner and place-man ? Is it *a work of an holy and heavenly nature* ? Would your Lordship have all that receive the sacrament think it so ? They can't, my Lord. For the law enjoins it *for secular*, and not *for holy and heavenly purposes*. And, when your Lordship adds, that *the heart must be withdrawn from the thoughts and business of the world*, your Lordship knows 'tis impossible. For 'tis the very thoughts and business of the world, the thoughts of the *pension*, and the business of the *place*, that immediately and

(°) P. 75.

directly brings every qualifier, without exception at the time he qualifies, to receive the sacrament. And this the minister and churchwardens must testify, and two credible witnesses confirm upon oath. Are these the thoughts that must put the heart into *that holy and heavenly frame* your Lordship recommends *as suitable to the business it is to be employed about?*

YOUR Lordship will forgive me, that I have argued thus long against the continuance of the corporation and test acts, from the nature and original design of the Lord's-supper; especially as I have argued from principles that your Lordship hath openly avowed, and never retracted since their first publication. If these principles are true, the making the sacrament a civil test, must be a very great perversion and abuse of it; and if it be *continued* as such, the world, my Lord, will be tempted to think, that whatsoever the clergy may pretend, in writing of the *solemnness and sacredness* of this institution, and of its being a matter of *an holy and heavenly nature*; yet, that in reality, they have a very mean and *contemptible opinion* of it in their minds. For the man that can be in judgment for the continuance of the sacrament as a worldly test, can never believe 'twas intended *only* for spiritual and divine purposes; nor ever be supposed to have any great opinion of its sacredness and *solemnity*, who is for making it *common* to every man, whose ambition tempts

tempts him to receive a place, or whose wants or covetousness oblige him to accept a pension or a salary.

I SHOULD now, my Lord, proceed to argue from some other considerations of very great importance ; but shall beg leave to offer them to your Lordship in another letter, and in the mean while do myself the honour to subscribe myself, with great sincerity,

Your Lordship's most obedient Servant,

The CONSISTENT PROTESTANT.



N U M B. XLIII.

*A Third LETTER to the Right
Reverend the Lord Bishop of
LONDON.*

*Compositum jus fasq; animi, sanctosq; recessus
Mentis, et incoctum generoso pectus honesto,
Hæc cedo ut admoveam templis.——*

PERS. sat. 2.

My LORD,

ALTHO' the argument drawn from the nature and ends of the holy sacrament of the Lord's-supper, must be abundantly

bundantly sufficient to prevail with one of your Lordship's character, to exert your utmost influence and power to prevent *the farther misapplication* of this sacred institution, by applying it to the purposes of a *civil test*; yet there are other considerations of very great importance, that must have their weight on your Lordship's judgment, and which I now beg leave, with all humility to lay before you.

It must necessarily be matter of great offence to serious and devout christians, who come to this sacrament with *purely* religious views, * *to raise and cherish the love of God in their hearts, and to engage themselves to a suitable return of love and obedience*; to kneel at the same altar, and join in the same communion with men, who are brought to it by *no other views* but those of *gain*, and receive it for no other end, but to *qualify* themselves for their pensions or places. I am sensible, my Lord, that the unworthiness of some receivers, doth not *always* make the communion of others to be sinful, who receive with a devout and honest disposition. But yet, my Lord, is it a desirable circumstance, is it what any good christian would wish, to see himself in the midst of *hungry pensioners*, and surrounded with needy or ambitious place-men, whilst kneeling to receive *the memorial of God's mercy and goodness*?

Must it not *damp* the spirit of his devotion, and even fill him with *indignation*, to find himself a companion in one of the *most solemn* exercises of religion, with men, who never bow before the altar, but to pay their compliments and adorations to *the God of riches*? With men who never *voluntarily* present themselves to this ordinance, that never come thro' the dictates of piety, affection, and gratitude, that come only to prevent their incurring the *temporal penalties* of an act of parliament?

YOUR Lordship tells us, † that, when we communicate in this holy ordinance, *we see ourselves united with the congregation of christian people, in one body under Christ our head; because we being many, are one bread and one body.* If then, my Lord, the receiving the sacrament is a profession of *our union* with the whole congregation; every devout christian professes himself united, and of one body, with every qualifying receiver; united in the *same views* and purposes of heart, by engaging with him in this holy solemnity. But God forbid, my Lord, that this should be the case. When your Lordship communicates, you communicate as a christian; with a mind, I doubt not, *withdrawn from the thoughts* and business of the world, and with pure and uncorrupted views of religion. And this, my Lord, you have declared to be the duty of

† p. 43.

every communicant to do ; and these *only* are the persons, with whom, I presume, your Lordship professes union when you receive the sacrament. A good man, I am sure, would be ashamed to profess his union with the other sort of receivers, and be loth to appear as one body with them before the altar of his Lord. And yet, if he communicates with them, his communion is a public profession before God and man, that he is of one society and church with them ; even with them whose secular views in receiving, he cannot but condemn, as what he knows to be contrary to the ends of the institution, and the evident design of our Saviour in appointing it. So that this practice *necessarily* introduces into the church a *mixture* of merely worldly and merely spiritual views, of the *most opposite* and contrary ends ; even whilst the action of receiving carries in it the most public *profession* of an entire *uniformity* and agreement herein.

YOUR Lordship well knows, that when the minister gives warning for the celebration of the holy communion, this is part of the exhortation he is to read : *If any of you be a blasphemers of God, an binderer or slanderer of his word, an adulterer, or be in malice and envy, or in any other grievous crime ; repent you of your sins, or else come not to that holy table.* But, my Lord, can the minister of any one of our *qualifying churches* make, or be thought to make, this exhortation in earnest ?

earnest? Is not this *commanding* blasphemers and adulterers either to *repent* of their sins, or *not to come* to this holy table, a *mere formality* and ceremony? Must not his congregation think him to be *in jest*, when they know *the blasphemer* and *adulterer*, if a pensioner or place-man, *must receive*, and the minister *cannot refuse* him, under penalty of a *tedious* and expensive *prosecution*? Are such *solemn exhortations*, even in the church of God, to be thus *trifled* with? Is this, my Lord, a proper method to create a *reverence* to the *persons* of our clergy, or to procure *success* to their *ministrations*?

YOUR Lordship very justly observes, * that the celebration of the Lord's-supper is *not the eating of a common meal, but the performance of a solemn office of religion*; and that the preparation that is † *absolutely and indispensably required* for the due receiving of the blessed Sacrament, || *is an honest and sincere heart, repentance for past sins, and entering into resolutions of obedience for the future*. If such preparation be *indispensably necessary*, your Lordship will allow me to ask, how it can be consistent with this doctrine, to *lay open* the Lord's-table in common to the most notorious and profligate offenders? For such, my Lord, *may, and must receive*, their legal qualification; and the

* p. 80.

† p. 53.

|| p. 82.

acts which force the receiving the Lord's supper to this end, *authorise* and oblige men of all complexions and characters, *atheists, infidels, whoremongers, adulterers, blasphemers*, the vilest sinners of all ranks and sizes, to participate of the sacred memorials. Even for such as these, my Lord, are the altars in our churches spread; and tho' the minister *may forbid* them to come, the law *compels* them to receive.

AT the time of the celebration of the communion the priest is to exhort the people to consider, *that the danger is great, if we receive the holy sacrament unworthily; for then we eat and drink our own damnation, we provoke God to afflict us with divers diseases and sundry kinds of death.* And when he giveth warning of the sacrament, he is to tell them, that the receiving the holy communion without examination, &c. *doth nothing else but increase your damnation.* Tremendous account! Amongst the great numbers in the army, the fleet, the revenues, corporations, and the like, which the acts of parliament compel to receive, and who never would receive without that compulsion, can the largest charity doubt whether there are not many unworthy receivers? Is it not known, my Lord, that they are men oftentimes of abandon'd principles and profligate behaviour? Unhappy persons! who render *themselves liable* to damnation by their own vices, and are compelled by act of parliament

to increase their damnation by the holy communion! If there be any truth in this declaration, compassion, my Lord, and pity for the souls of men, loudly call upon your Lordship and your right reverend brethren, to prevent the progress of so destructive an evil.

How great a *hardship* must it be upon the reverend clergy, to find themselves under a necessity of delivering the sacred elements to men, who, they have oftentimes reason to think, are only *kindling the wrath of God* against themselves, and provoking him *to plague them with divers diseases, and sundry kinds of death*, by receiving them? Is not this, my Lord, *inverting* the very end of their institution, and rendring them the *dreaded instruments of God's plagues and vengeance*, who were appointed to be the *ministers of his peace and mercy*? Is not the necessity they lie under of prostituting the sacred elements to men of mercenary views, who do nothing else but increase their damnation by taking them, a *burthen* upon their *consciences*, as well as a *reproach* to their office? Must not all of them, who *value the dignity* of the institutions of our blessed Saviour, *the comfort and success of their own administrations*, and the ease and *peace of their own consciences*, earnestly wish, and sincerely pray for the redress of this grievance? Would they not *bless the hand* to whom they should be indebted for the removal

removal of it? Your Lordship is the *known father* of our clergy, and must be pleased to assist them, as well in their *spiritual* as their *temporal* concerns.

PARDON me, my Lord, if I farther add, that *the dignity* even of the *episcopal character* is highly concerned in this affair, and the reverence that is due to your Lordship's *office* and station. The complaints that have been frequently and publicly made of the *scandal* given by *qualifying sacraments*, and the *repeated profanations* of the memorial of Christ's body, your Lordship and your right reverend brethren cannot be ignorant of, nor with any reason doubt the truth of. Good men in the church, as well as out of it, have *long wished* and hoped for the removal of this scandal by the episcopal influence and care. But hitherto, my Lord, *in vain*. They have thought it *peculiarly suitable* to the episcopal character, *not only not to authorise* and maintain such profanations, but to remonstrate against them, and use every proper method to remove them. They have seen, *with concern* and astonishment, *laboured vindications* of this antichristian practice, *professed defences* of these prostitutions of the sacrament, by men, whose great abilities they could have wished had been employ'd much more to the honour of God, and the service of our common christianity, as well as more consistently with the sacredness of their own character, and their high
station

station in this Protestant church. Pleased, that your Lordship hath not appeared a *public advocate* for this dishonourable cause, they persuade themselves 'tis because your Lordship disavows it in your *private judgment*. On you therefore, my Lord, they depend to appear openly in your great master's cause. Your known concern for the interest of christianity, and your avowed principles concerning the blessed sacrament, they think a sufficient encouragement of this hope; and know, that your authority in the church, and your high interest and influence, render you capable of greatly promoting this important service to religion. The virtuous part of the clergy and laity, long to see your Lordship zealously declaring against this practice, which it is more easy to *plead for* than to *justify*; they will load you with their blessings when they see you standing up for the honour of *his* institutions whose religion you have so well defended, and will all of them become intercessors with heaven, that you may receive the reward of your courage and piety in the present and future world.

I HAVE only, my Lord, to add, that many suspicions and conclusions, *very unfavourable* to the episcopal dignity and order, must necessarily arise, if the reverend fathers of our church, *warm and easy in their preferments*, will still continue to suffer the farther progress of this notorious abuse,
without

without expressing a just concern, and proper care to prevent it; and to assure your Lordship, that my addressing you in this public manner, hath proceeded from *no other motive*, than my hearty concern for the honour of that christianity which I sincerely believe, and my earnest desire to contribute all I can to wipe off this *unexampled scandal* from the church of *England*; to the true interest and increasing prosperity of which, no man wishes better, or is a more hearty friend, than,

My LORD,

*Your Lordship's most obedient,
and most dutiful Servant,*

The CONSISTENT PROTESTANT.

N U M B. XLIV.

To the OLD WHIG.

S I R,

THE dispute between the *examiner* and *defender* of the *codex*, &c. as it stands, appears to me in so odd and whimsical a light, that I fancied a short representation

tion of it might entertain or amuse your readers. I dare say, many of my worthy and industrious countrymen were, before these gentlemen favoured us with their observations, as ignorant as myself of the contents and pretensions of this large volume; and now would be glad to see the *dispute adjusted*.

ALL governments must have *somewhere* a supremacy for the making and executing the laws of the society. *That* is the best constituted which has the most free consent of the people in the *legislative*, and the most justice and moderation in the *executive* capacity. But the powers of every society must necessarily be branched out into distinct and subordinate jurisdictions; each of which must have their own proper sphere to act in; subject however to the supreme in all cases and inquiries: Else there would be a constant and necessary contention in the body politic, arising from such independency.

Now this being the natural and necessary state of every civil society, it may well be expected on the one hand, from the tempers and corruptions of men, that these subordinate jurisdictions should be always ready and desirous to extend their dominion and power as far as they can, without considering the just good of the whole society; and confining their views to the particular interests of the several officers concerned in it. And this, I think, has been avowed to be a

duty of every such jurisdiction. Now while these designs and incroachments are low, and exercised on one another, the care and zeal of each will secure their proper bounds, and no great mischief is to be feared : But when indeed the pretences are high, and the contention is, not with other *subject* powers, but with the *supremacy* itself; when the incroachments and usurpations have been supported and indured by long customs, and countenanced by the favours of weak princes and forced grants; and when above all, they have been held and submitted to, under the notions of *spiritual* and *religious* rights, founded on the superstitions and ignorance of the people, and especially if claimed independently of the civil power, and by the word of God; then indeed these schemes and these powers are dangerous and formidable.

YET nevertheless this height of arrogance and religious Quixotism is quite natural, and a just extension, *it seems*, of their ecclesiastical jurisdiction; and if the ignorance and superstition of the society are sufficient, their claims will be very secure; and they will be able to *vex*, perhaps to *resist* the supremacy itself. But all this is very natural self-defence and reasonable extension of power; except only where false grounds are pretended, and revelation is called in to assist. This is going a little too far; and therefore always very cautiously hinted at. Neither the *Codex*, nor his *defender*, have pretended to *prove* their authority

thority from the word of God; but choose rather to have it taken for granted, and referred to in forms and offices, as a truth, not to be inquired into, but left to weigh with whom it may. Yet this, let me observe, does not at all invalidate the proof of their sacred pretensions: For if it was never so truly and clearly revealed in *the book*, it is much better to let it stand as it does, in obscurity and presumption only; to be own'd and press'd where it may influence: For were it to be insisted on as real and true, it would raise the most just apprehensions. The *divine* right must certainly be submitted to; and our governours would do well to see this extraordinary claim duly adjusted; that they might know the bounds of their *own* jurisdiction, and not sacrilegiously intrench upon *divine* authority.

ON the other hand, the *examiner* of the *Codex* seems justly apprehensive of the extent and powers of this jurisdiction. He fears the grounds of their pretensions are too independent; and the matters and subjects of their authority too many, and too important. He thinks the rights and customs that they assert, have been got, or wrested, from the superstition and weakness of princes and people; and that this ecclesiastical or spiritual jurisdiction (as it is called) amuses and deceives under some sacred and religious zeal, which is, for that purpose, carefully kept up, and encouraged. He is

certainly right in supposing that so large and extensive a body, with such great powers, and such high and sacred pretensions, so long born and supported, sometimes with the most insolent severities, and always with a presumptuous superiority, is ever to be watched and feared, as a dangerous incroachment upon the supreme powers, and rights and liberties of the people. He has fairly set before us the higher and more intolerable usurpations of the hierarchy, in weaker and more superstitious times; and some excellent obsolete and new laws, now humbly proposed as candidates for further powers, whenever the legislature shall think fit to intrust them with an extent of their authority.

THESE are indeed just and proper hints to alarm the supreme legislature, and to put the people on their guard against a growing and assuming jurisdiction: But I own, I am not at all fearful of the success, when the eyes of our superiors are open, and the subjects are rightly informed of the nature and pretence of their authority; especially if all ignorant and superstitious zeal be removed. And let us give the present hierarchy their due; altho' their authority is call'd *ecclesiastical* and *spiritual*, they do not really pretend to any other than a share in *civil* jurisdiction. They own the supremacy, and claim *only* a subordinate power in matters spiritual; that is, what relates to morality and religion. They would watch over and
correct

correct the *manners*; be consulted in all laws of that sort; and have the assistance of proper executioners at their call, lest they should defile their sacred hands in blood and destruction: They would exercise these spiritual powers, and, as much as possible, avoid the odium naturally attending the execution of them. This dominion is indeed very large and extensive, and may be apt to degenerate into religious rage and persecution; and if well understood, might render all other authority useless: But it is the business of the legislature itself to check any inordinate zeal; to restrain any unreasonable powers; to see that none but proper subjects of authority, and under proper bounds, be intrusted to their directions; and to take the whole property and concern of the subject into their protection and care.

IN the mean while, I dare say, our present ecclesiastical governours, as such, consider themselves only as a part of the civil magistracy, appointed to watch over their proper charge, and to direct and restrain the moral and religious behaviours of the people, for the public good only. As religious and christian guides and directors, they have indeed nothing to do with the civil government, nor pretend to it. This is quite another office; and however, by some designing and ambitious hypocrites, these distinct offices may be blended, and the word of God may be appeal'd to as their charter

and authority in *civil* matters, which is indeed quite absurd; and their proceedings in courts of justice may be pretended *pro salute animæ*, which is altogether ridiculous; yet it must be owned that, in our days, these grave things are said very *softly*; and our christian pastors and superiors know very well that *their kingdom*, which can never be more extensive than *that* of their lord and master, is *not of this world*; and that *to this end only* can they be invested with authority, that *they may bear witness to the truth*. This was the *end* and *office* of the author of our religion himself: It would therefore be the greatest affront and insolence for any of his followers to assume an higher character.

THUS, Sir, I think these gentlemen act each in character, the one asserting and insisting upon all their powers and rights, and wisely extending their dominion as far as they can; the other in justly exciting the supreme legislature to be on their guard, and to regulate and restrain exorbitant claims. We are obliged to each sort of disputants in their turns: To the one, for telling us fairly what they would be at; and to the other, for maintaining the supremacy of the legislature, and the civil liberty of the subject. I am,

S I R,

Yours, &c.

PHILAETHES.

N U M B.



N U M B. XLV.

To the OLD WHIG.

S I R,

I TAKE the liberty to convey to the public, through your hands, two letters which were wrote in the year 1729.. The first of them is from a member of parliament to a fellow of a college in *Oxford*, relating to a very remarkable and unreasonable hardship put upon young gentlemen on their entrance into that university; the second is the answer to it. The subject of them is, I think, of some importance to the gentry of this kingdom, and therefore I shall not trouble you with any farther introduction.

L E T T E R I.

S I R,

I WAS engaged in a conversation the other night, where some of the company advanced a great many hard things of

‘ our universities ; and one gentleman in particular took the liberty to say, he thought
 ‘ nothing in the world more preposterous,
 ‘ than some of the methods there taken for
 ‘ the education of youth. I was exceedingly
 ‘ ly alarmed at his discourse, and could not
 ‘ help telling him, that tho’ I never had the
 ‘ happiness of an university education myself ;
 ‘ yet, by what I had heard of those places
 ‘ from other persons, I had contracted a
 ‘ great esteem and veneration for them.
 ‘ The regularity, decency, and order observed
 ‘ in them, the great figure they have always
 ‘ made in the world, and the many excellent
 ‘ men that they have furnished out
 ‘ for the service of both church and state,
 ‘ seem to me to clear them from the aspersions
 ‘ which you would cast upon them.
 ‘ Sir, said he, you do not hear me say there is
 ‘ nothing good in those places ; and were they
 ‘ worse than they are, it would be strange,
 ‘ considering what numbers flock thither for
 ‘ education, if some of them did not become
 ‘ men of learning and virtue : Nor on the
 ‘ other hand am I surpris’d or angry, that
 ‘ there are some ill things in them. It is
 ‘ impossible, that in such large bodies, (whatever
 ‘ care be taken) there should not creep
 ‘ in some corruptions, which removed, others
 ‘ will still succeed in their places ; and the
 ‘ governing part of an university have enough
 ‘ to do to watch against them from time to
 ‘ time, without any expectation or possibility
 ‘ of

' of utterly preventing the soil from nou-
 ' rishing ill weeds.——But what I complain
 ' of is, that there should be any evils tolerated,
 ' encouraged, by law established in the uni-
 ' versities. What think you, continued he,
 ' of the many methods they take, to discour-
 ' age all free inquiries into religion and
 ' learning? to see that no body entertains
 ' any opinions that are not exactly conform-
 ' able to the received; or, if any do, that
 ' they may be sure of being hissed at, pelted,
 ' and even made incapable of following
 ' their studies among them? Sir, said I, you
 ' surprise me prodigiously: I can never be-
 ' lieve that a society of men set apart for the
 ' inquiry after, and discovery of truth, en-
 ' dowed with large privileges and revenues
 ' only that they may be at leisure to attend
 ' that inquiry, should make so ill an use
 ' of them as to endeavour to stifle any thing
 ' of that kind, at least by the methods you
 ' talk of. Perhaps, said he, you that have ne-
 ' ver been at the university, will hardly believe
 ' it; but I assure you, the moment a lad sets
 ' his foot in *Oxford*, he is immediately hur-
 ' ried to the vice-chancellor, where he has
 ' shackles, that they keep ready made, put
 ' upon his understanding, and is forbid ever
 ' to entertain any opinion upon certain points,
 ' contrary to what the Vice-chancellor then
 ' delivers to him.——I was about to ask him
 ' to explain this, when the company perceiv-
 ' ing it grew late, were for adjourning; and

' so I had not an opportunity of understand-
 ' ing what he meant by all this. Nor could
 ' I well have depended upon any account he
 ' might have given me, being a stranger to
 ' me, and as I thought, a little prejudiced in
 ' disfavour of the universities. But I will
 ' beg the favour of you, Sir, who know *Ox-*
 ' *ford* so well, to unriddle this to me, and let
 ' me know, if there is any truth in what
 ' this gentleman asserted, or whether it was
 ' not the effect of his malice and prejudice.
 ' I beg pardon for this trouble, and am,

S I R,

Your's, &c.

L E T T E R II.

S I R,

' I Received your letter, and should have been
 ' glad if you had told me the gentleman's
 ' name with whom you had that discourse:
 ' Perhaps I might have known him. How-
 ' ever it is not difficult to guess what he meant,
 ' and the less difficult to me, because what
 ' he seems to hint at has been long the sub-
 ' ject of my thoughts; and, to speak the
 ' truth, of my grief. It is too true, a lad no
 ' sooner comes to *Oxford*, but he is carried
 ' to the Vice-chancellor to be shackled. And
 ' for your information in this particular, I
 ' have

‘ have consulted the statutes of the univer-
 ‘ sity, as they are comprised in a little book,
 ‘ intituled, *Parecbolæ, sive excerpta & corpore*
 ‘ *statutorum universitatis Oxoniensis*, which
 ‘ book is delivered to every gentleman at
 ‘ the time of his matriculation.—The sta-
 ‘ tute relating to this particular is as follows.

*De tempore et conditionibus matri-
 culationis.*

Omnes et singuli studentes seu scholares
 cujuscunq; conditionis, intra quindenam post-
 quam ad universitatem accesserint, coram Cän-
 cellario ejusve Commissario matriculandos se
 sistant; nec priusquam in matriculam univer-
 sitatis relati fuerint, ullis universitatis privi-
 legiis aut beneficiis gaudeant. Quod si a præ-
 secto domus sue, ejusve deputato, legitime mo-
 nisi nibilo secus matriculandos sese non sistant,
 pro qualibet quindena sue dilationis sex soli-
 dis et octo denariis ad usum universitatis mul-
 dentur. Quotquot autem in matriculam uni-
 versitatis redigendi accedunt, si decimum sex-
 tum sue ætatis annum attigerint, articulis
 fidei et religionis subscribant, et de agnoscendo
 primatu Regiæ majestatis, necnon de fidelitate
 universitati exhibenda, statutis privilegiis et
 consuetudinibus ejusdem observandis, juxta for-
 mam hactenus usitatam, corporale juramentum
 præstent.

Quod

Quod si infra decimum sextum et supra duodecimum ætatis annum extiterint, articulis fidei et religionis duntaxat subscribant, et in matriculam redigentur.

Quod si duodecimum non excefferint in matriculam duntaxat referentur. Utrique tamen postmodo, ubi ad maturam ætatem pervenerint qua cætera requisita præstare possint, tum demum ea præstare teneantur sub pœna non sistentium se matriculandos.

That is,

ALL students and scholars, of whatsoever condition, shall, within a fortnight after their coming to the university, offer themselves to the Chancellor, or his Commissary, to be matriculated; nor shall they before matriculation, enjoy any of the privileges or benefits of the university. If they shall neglect or delay to offer themselves to be matriculated, after having been duly admonished thereof by the head of their college or his deputy, they shall, for every fortnight of such delay, forfeit the sum of 6s. 8d. to the use of the university. And all persons coming to be matriculated, if of the age of sixteen years, shall subscribe the articles of faith and religion, shall take the oath of supremacy, together with an oath of fidelity to the university, in like manner as hath heretofore been accustomed.---But if they are under the age

of

‘ of sixteen and above twelve, they shall
 ‘ then be matriculated upon only subscribing
 ‘ the articles of faith and religion.—And
 ‘ as for such as shall be under the age of
 ‘ twelve, they shall be matriculated without
 ‘ subscribing or taking any of the aforesaid
 ‘ oaths; provided always that all such per-
 ‘ sons, when they shall arrive at the respective
 ‘ ages at which the abovementioned are to be
 ‘ performed, shall then perform the same;
 ‘ or, for neglect thereof, shall be subject to
 ‘ such penalties as if they had never offered
 ‘ themselves to be matriculated.

‘ *T H I S*, Sir, is the law, and this the
 ‘ practice of our university: And you must
 ‘ give me leave to join my complaints to those
 ‘ of the gentleman you mention; I mean
 ‘ with relation to the articles of faith and
 ‘ religion. I must agree with him, that it
 ‘ is a most preposterous method of education,
 ‘ for a poor child, as soon as he comes to the
 ‘ university, to be taken up and hamper’d
 ‘ at this rate: To be made to subscribe ar-
 ‘ ticles, which, a thousand to one, he never
 ‘ read; and if he has read, ’tis ten million to
 ‘ one, he does not understand.

‘ *I H A V E* not made inquiry enough to
 ‘ know when this statute was first introduced.
 ‘ I suppose it was in the reign of the pious
 ‘ Archbishop *Laud*. Sure I am, let it have
 ‘ been introduced when it will, it is high time
 ‘ it should be taken away, unless any body
 ‘ will

' will undertake to shew any one use that it
 ' can serve, which will not end in tyranny
 ' and slavery. Is it that these articles are so
 ' excellent? So conformable to scripture
 ' and reason? Be it so. Still there is room
 ' to ask, Why are they therefore to be im-
 ' posed? And why upon such tender years?
 ' If they are indeed so excellent, will they
 ' not approve themselves to the understanding
 ' of gentlemen as they grow up, but they
 ' must be cram'd down their throats, and
 ' fastened upon them by the solemnest ties,
 ' at a time when they hardly know their
 ' right-hand from their left? Does it not
 ' look as if the imposers of these articles grie-
 ' vously suspected the truth and goodness of
 ' them, when they take so (I call it again)
 ' preposterous a method to engage people's
 ' belief to them? Are they not afraid that as
 ' men grow older, they should grow wiser;
 ' and as they grow wiser, they should begin
 ' to doubt of some of these articles? If not,
 ' why all this haste for a subscription, be-
 ' fore a boy can eat his commons, or be per-
 ' mitted to look into *Aristotle*? Why are
 ' young gentlemen to subscribe what perhaps
 ' after two or three months study they may
 ' find reason to retract?

' FOR God's sake, let us have done tri-
 ' fling with one another at this rate. Let us
 ' sacrifice all the little notions of party, and
 ' the fondness we are apt to entertain for
 ' preconceived opinions, to the love of truth
 ' and

‘ and impartial dealing. If truth is aimed
 ‘ at, all dark ways should be avoided. Truth
 ‘ and daylight go together. I love a free,
 ‘ open, and impartial examination, and that
 ‘ not for myself only (for I suppose that
 ‘ every body does : no man sure is glad that
 ‘ his own eyes are put out) but for other men.
 ‘ I hate tyranny under all shapes and pre-
 ‘ tences ; and because I would not willingly
 ‘ be tyrannised over myself, I don’t like to
 ‘ tyrannise over other people, but would fol-
 ‘ low our Saviour’s rule : Do as you would
 ‘ be done by.

‘ SIR, it were easy to add a great deal
 ‘ more on this head. Liberty is a subject
 ‘ that can never be exhausted. But it is
 ‘ the hard fate of the christian world, that
 ‘ the pride, insolence and tyranny of a small
 ‘ part of it, have made it necessary to say
 ‘ thus much. But that I may not tire you,
 ‘ I will conclude with this one motion, *viz.*
 ‘ That you would lay hold on some oppor-
 ‘ tunity to move for a bill for the utter re-
 ‘ pealing and abolishing this dictatorial op-
 ‘ pressive statute. I dare say, every gentle-
 ‘ man who has the honour to sit in par-
 ‘ liament, will be glad to contribute towards
 ‘ taking off this yoke from the necks of the
 ‘ British youth ; a yoke which our fathers
 ‘ have born, but which, I trust in God, our
 ‘ children shall not wear. And Gentlemen
 ‘ will be sensible of the indignity (were it
 ‘ no worse) put upon their sons, when be-
 ‘ ing

' ing sent to *Oxford* for education, the first
 ' step taken with them is to put chains upon
 ' them : Not upon their bodies indeed, but
 ' upon their nobler part, their understand-
 ' ings ; the right use of which, if I mistake
 ' not, is what principally distinguishes a
 ' gentleman from his inferiors. This is to
 ' give them stones, when they ask for bread.

' SIR, the House of Commons last session
 ' exerted a noble zeal in relief of those poor
 ' debtors, whose prisons, by the unmerciful-
 ' ness of their keepers, became to them like
 ' the *French* gallies. And I think the com-
 ' mittee of that honourable house refused to
 ' examine some prisoners till their irons were
 ' knocked off ; concluding I suppose, that a
 ' man is not, till then, in a fit posture to speak
 ' his mind freely. I leave to you, Sir, to con-
 ' sider, if it be not equally proper, that all
 ' searchers after truth, young ones especially,
 ' should be equally free from impositions, ar-
 ' ticles and subscriptions : and whether any
 ' other method ought to be taken for pre-
 ' venting disputes and contrariety of opinions,
 ' than indulging a freedom of inquiry to all
 ' persons ; thereby giving them an opportu-
 ' nity of arriving at truth, or at least the sa-
 ' tisfaction of having used all proper endea-
 ' vours for attaining it. I am,

S I R,

Your's, &c.

P. S.

P. S. How far any such practices as these are encouraged at *Cambridge*, I cannot say.

A D V E R T I S E M E N T.

THE author of the second of these letters thinks proper to declare, that if he has expressed himself with any warmth upon the subject in which he was engaged, it is not owing to any ill affection towards the place where he received his education, and for which he has always entertained the greatest kindness; but he thought he could not do a more real service to that university, than by endeavouring to remove a law from among them so destructive to liberty and learning.



N U M B. XLVI.

To the OLD WHIG.

Rerumq; ignarus imagine gaudet. VIRG.

S I R,

THE publishing your paper has given rise to a club, who have assum'd the name of *Old Whigs*. We meet every *Thurs-*

D d

day

day to read your paper, and inform ourselves what progress liberty has made, and to observe the conduct of its friends and enemies. We hope you will approve our institution, tho' we can only contribute to the cause by our good wishes ; since all conversations on subjects of liberty remove prejudices, and increase that benevolence which is due to mankind in general, and ought not to be confined to any sect or party ; and if you think our correspondence worth cultivating, we shall from time to time, send you accounts of such things as we meet with, which may be worth your notice.

L A S T night when *Will Sprightly* was call'd on to read your paper as usual, he, instead of it, produced an Evening Paper of *Tuesday*, the 16th instant, and from it read the following letter :

“ SIR, There being a bill now depending
 “ in parliament to restrain the disposition of
 “ lands, whereby the same become unalien-
 “ able, you are earnestly desired to publish the
 “ fears which many good men have enter-
 “ tained concerning it, *viz.* That it will put
 “ a stop to the bequeathing of lands for
 “ the promotion of religion and charity,
 “ which they think at a very low ebb al-
 “ ready ; and therefore humbly hope, that
 “ all true lovers of the reformation, the
 “ revolution, and our happy constitution in
 “ church and state, will duly consider
 “ the said bill, before it passes into a law,
 “ &c.”

I C A N ' T

I CAN'T for my part (says *Will*) conceive how religion or charity should be promoted by bequeathing of lands. I have always heard they both decreased, in proportion as the riches of the church increased; and oft have I been told, that before the weakness of the *Roman* emperors made way for the riches of the church; that there were wooden chalices, but golden priests; and that afterwards they had golden chalices, but wooden priests. For my own part, pursued he, I have been so great a loser by this will-making to *pious* uses, as they call them, that I can't help rejoicing heartily that a bill of this nature is now depending, that others may escape the like misfortunes. I'll tell you, gentlemen, said he, how our family-estate came to be appropriated to these same *pious* uses, and myself and sisters sent to shift for our maintenance: My father's elder brother left his estate to my good aunt, to secure her the respect of his relations; and she was so concern'd for the loss of so kind a husband, that this world became, as she said, a burden to her, and she resolved wholly to apply herself to the affairs of the next. The parson of the parish soon became prime minister in our family, and nothing was to be done but by his approbation. The first instance of my aunt's piety was adorning the church; the old books and cushions were changed, and turkey leather and velvet dress'd the reading

desk and pulpit; the gold fringes were stript from off my aunt's wedding petticoat, to compleat the shew, and set off the beauty of holiness. The next *sunday* when the scene was compleat, one of my sisters, a girl of ten or twelve years old, who was a little nettled to see the parson so much finer than herself, happened to laugh so immoderately to see how fond the doctor was of his new hoop, as she called it, that before the next *sunday* the pulpit was remov'd quite out of sight of our seat. My aunt was told the reason, and all the interest we had in the world was necessary to reconcile the doctor, and save us from being immediately turned out of doors. I took a friend with me on this occasion, to make my sister's apology to the doctor, when, to compleat our ruin, I found him and his curate engag'd at all-fours: The doctor courteously bid us sit down; which, after beseeching him to go on with his game, we ventured to do. When the curate, who was dealing, after his bow to me, and three or four profound reverences to the doctor, desired he would be pleased to look in his hand, and tell him what he pleased should be trumps: Diamonds, says the doctor; for, Sir, says he to me, you must know I am a very bad player, and so when I play with this gentleman, he is so good as always to let me name trumps. I endeavour'd to keep my countenance; but my friend said to me, laughing, I have oft
heard

heard the clergy play'd this game with the laity, but did not think they play'd so amongst themselves. The doctor over-heard him, and immediately acquainted my aunt, that he feared I was an *Arian*, and had read Dr. *Clarke*. Upon which my aunt resolved to rid herself of a nest of infidels, and we were turned out of doors; our family-estate was left to *pious* uses; and I have been forced, out of the little fortune my father left me, to maintain my sisters and myself. Now if this *piety* had been restrained by act of parliament, I want to know what reason the friends of the reformation or the revolution would have had to have complain'd.

I AM sorry, says Mr. *Freeman*, that our friend *Sprightly* should have so much reason to speak feelingly on this occasion; but he may have the satisfaction, if it be one, to know that his misfortune is by no means singular. I am told by lawyers of my acquaintance, that nothing is more common in cases where estates are left to charity, than to find the relations of the deceased left destitute, and begging a share of the alms; and where the charities are not particularly appropriated to any certain use, our courts of equity have of late thought them objects deserving compassion in the first place, tho' the donor might think them too worldly and transitory to deserve his attention. But, says he, whatever private persons may suffer by these kind of donations, they will appear quire trifling

inconveniences, if we compare them with those which the public must suffer if they are permitted to increase.

I HAVE, pursued he, seen whole countries desolate from this cause only; nor can any man give me any other reason why the best part of *Italy* is at this day uncultivated, insomuch, that, in the *campana* of *Rome*, for want of hands to clear the ground, it is almost certain death to sleep one night; and in all the popish countries I have gone through, tho' there are laws to prevent the increase of these *mortmains* as they are call'd, yet are there visible instances both of their increase and inconvenience; and I am told, that our own country in this respect yet retains some of the scars of *popery*. Some of the richest parts of *England*, which the clergy of that religion chose for their habitation, are scarce yet recover'd from the inundation which cover'd them, for want of hands to drain them; for the clergy were too covetous to be at any expence for their successors, and the laity too poor, and too little concern'd in the question, to bestow the necessary labour which such works required. I am much mistaken if this is not the true cause why such tracts of land have for ages produced nothing but agues.

THERE is yet a greater inconvenience (said doctor *Pandect*) threatned by the increase of *mortmains*, than any which has been mention'd. When bodies politic are
suffer'd

suffer'd to have a separate interest from that of the state, and to increase in riches and power without a possibility of alienation, they must grow too big for it, and threaten its subversion; they will soon contend for independency, and support their claims at any rate, and lay the foundation of the most dreadful kind of tyranny.

FOR this reason the *Romans* (tho' superstitious to a fault) prohibited any person to give or bequeath by will any real estate to any college, society, or corporation; or these to accept them without the approbation of a senate, or the prince; * and for this reason the emperors *Dioclesian* and *Maximinian* confiscated the real estates of the church which they had possessed themselves of during the confusions of the *Roman* empire, after *Valerian's* imprisonment. Nor was the utmost vigilance of the emperors able to stop this growing evil: As soon as the church was resolved to have a kingdom of this world, they persuaded the people that the disinheriting children and heirs, to give their estates to the church, was a service to God; which made it necessary for *Charlemain* to prohibit the churches to receive any gifts which disinherited children and kindred; to prevent the mischievous effects of the artifice of priests on the credulity of women. On this account a law was made to prevent

* *L. 8. Cod. de heræd. instituend.*

their frequenting the houses of widows or orphans, or receiving any gifts from them by will or donation, or any third hand *.

THIS law, (said a worthy divine, who honours us sometimes with his company) St. *Ferom* mentions in his epist. to *Eustach.* and rejoices at it as a good step to remedy the corruptions which were then amongst the clergy, and particularly their avarice, which, as I apprehend, might occasion many laws to be made of the nature which our friend has mentioned. The corruption which this introduced into religion, is complained of by many of the fathers, and particularly St. *Austin*, who himself refused the donations left to his church †. Yet in spite of the edicts of emperors ‡, and the endeavours of the fathers, the church, as they call'd it, kept its ground; and superstition, idolatry, and slavery became so general, that the western empire became almost totally the patrimony of the church; and whoever has opposed its incroachments, have been treated with more hatred than the greatest of its persecutors. The putting the laws against *Mortmain* in execution, is the reason why *Julian* § is treated as the wickedest of mankind, tho' he granted all kinds of toleration; whilst the most barbarous tyrants, who have

* L. 20. *Cod. Theod. de Episc.*

† *Possid. in vita Augustin. c. 24.*

‡ L. 27. *Cod. Theod. Anno 390.*

§ *Julian. Epist. ad Bostrens.*

compounded for their sins by donations to the church, are canoniz'd.

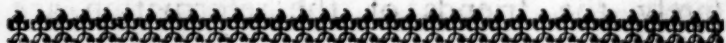
'TIS true, says our president Sir *Harry English*, that the corrupt part of the clergy have been always grasping for power and riches; yet our ancestors, for the honour of our kingdom be it spoken, notwithstanding the darkness and superstition which popery had scattered over the whole earth, have made the noblest stands for liberty; and particularly the statute of *Mortmain* is an instance of spirit and wisdom equal to any of the *Roman* laws that have been mentioned. 'Tis true indeed, that notwithstanding that law, they gain'd so much ground, that a reformation was much wanted, which has in some measure remedied those evils. But surely the friends of the reformation are very injudiciously call'd upon by the letter-writer, to build again the things which it destroy'd; as are the friends to the church and our constitution, to corrupt the one, and defeat the good effects of the other.

I HAVE, continued he, been assured that since the repeal of the Stat. of *Mortmain*, the money arising from gifts of this kind, is computed at six or seven millions. The Stat. of 2. 3. of *Q. Anne*, c. 11. § 4. has effectually repeal'd the Stat. of *Mortmain*; and, as Mr. *Smart* has shewn in his tables, laid a foundation not only for restoring the church in a little time to all the lands she possessed at the time of the reformation, but
for

for enabling her to ingross all the estates in the kingdom *. But, says he, the remarks of that judicious author are so well worth the consideration of the public on this occasion, that I could wish they were republished by our friend the *Old Whig*. Our friends, who remembred the passage he alluded to, approving the motion, I was ordered to signify their request, and to send you the passage inclos'd; which, if you think proper, you will give a place in your paper as soon as possible. I am,

S I R,

Your's, &c.



N U M B. XLVII.

I AM glad to find that there are a set of ingenious gentlemen, who have thought it worth their while to form themselves into a *society*, and to meet together weekly, to talk over the important subject of LIBERTY. It is easy to see, from the letter which they sent me last week, that their manner of conversing is very agreeable, entertaining, and improving. An account sometimes of

* *Smart's Tables*, p. 109, 110, 111.

what

what turns up among them in their free way of canvassing questions of this nature, could not fail of giving pleasure and instruction to their fellow-subjects. And they must allow me to say, that they will hardly act in character, if they keep among themselves, and confine to the members of their *club*, all the light they strike out in debates of this kind.

THE extract out of Mr. *Smart's* tables, which accompanied their letter to me last week, contains such judicious and seasonable remarks, that I doubt not but I shall oblige all my readers, as well as my ingenious correspondents, by taking this first opportunity of republishing them.

Mr. SMART's Tables, p. 109,
110, 111.

‘ WHEN one considers to what an
‘ immense sum a very small matter will
‘ amount in a long course of years, there
‘ is no wonder to be made, that in *popish*
‘ countries, those *gentlemen*, who call them-
‘ selves THE CHURCH, should have made
‘ such great acquisitions: it is rather a sur-
‘ prize to me, that, like their brethren the
‘ MAGI of old, they have not usurped all
‘ power over the possessions, as well as the
‘ consciences of the laity; since in all pro-
‘ bability it would have been attended with
‘ better success as to the continuance of it.

‘ WHAT

‘ WHAT they might have acquired in
 ‘ *England* before the reformation, had it not
 ‘ been for the statute of *Mortmain*, is not to
 ‘ be determined ; but certainly it would have
 ‘ been very great : For notwithstanding that
 ‘ statute, their revenues increas’d from time
 ‘ time, ’till the reign of king *Henry VIII.*
 ‘ which was above two hundred years after
 ‘ the making of it.

‘ IN this reign they suffered much, both
 ‘ with respect to their power and estates,
 ‘ as has been since greatly bewailed by many
 ‘ good *Protestant* divines: But, if they will
 ‘ have patience for a few ages, they will
 ‘ find, that the late queen *Anne* has fur-
 ‘ nished them with materials sufficient, not
 ‘ only to repair the dilapidations of king
 ‘ *Henry VIII.* but also to erect more noble
 ‘ structures than were demolished in that
 ‘ reign:

‘ THE late reverend and learned Dr.
 ‘ *Prideaux*, dean of *Norwich*, in his *vindi-*
 ‘ *cation of an award of king Charles I.* page
 ‘ 64. says, “ The queen’s majesty’s late
 “ bounty to the church hath laid a very
 “ good foundation for the redeeming again
 “ of *impropriations*, were this bounty wholly
 “ appropriated thereto ; and to a better use,
 “ I am positive to say, it cannot be applied ;
 “ and having the honour to be one of the
 “ commissioners for the disposal of this
 “ bounty, I have the more right to declare
 “ my judgment herein. If it be distributed
 “ in

“ in pensions, it will better only some single
 “ persons, but leave THE CHURCH in the
 “ same state of deficiency for God's *service*
 “ which it was in before : But if it be laid
 “ out for the buying in of *impropriations*
 “ again to the parish churches from which
 “ they have been alienated, it is sufficient
 “ to buy in twenty or thirty of them
 “ every year ; and if thus year by year the
 “ work be carried on, it will every year
 “ help to deliver us from the greatest mis-
 “ chief which THE CHURCH has groaned
 “ under since the time of the reformation,
 “ and in process of time will wholly re-
 “ move it from us. And if the forfeiture
 “ of all those lands, and other donations,
 “ which are given contrary to law, for the
 “ maintaining of *popish* priests here, and
 “ *popish* monasteries and convents beyond
 “ sea, were all taken by the government,
 “ and assigned to the same use, the whole
 “ work would be soon done, and the
 “ CHURCH *again restored to that competency*
 “ *of revenue which is necessary for it.* These
 “ donations now in the hands of the *popish*
 “ party for those superstitious and unlaw-
 “ ful ends, are computed by such as can
 “ guess best of the matter, to amount in
 “ value to at least a million of money. And
 “ it being by this fund that they are inabled
 “ to carry on their dark and hellish designs,
 “ whereby they are continually working for
 “ the subversion both of our church and
 “ state,

“state, we can never be safe as to either,
 “till it be wholly taken from them. And
 “since they were the *popish* clergy that gave
 “the handle for this alienation of tythes,
 “by their having first appropriated them
 “to their monasteries and convents, I think
 “this wealth of theirs cannot be more pro-
 “perly employ’d, than for the remedying
 “the evil which they have occasion’d. And
 “altho’ it were designed, like the censers
 “of *Korah* and his company, for the offer-
 “ing up of false incense unto the Lord;
 “yet since it hath been consecrated to
 “God’s altar, it is fittest that it should with
 “them, for a better use, be nailed thereto.”

‘ I HAVE quoted this learned *dean* to
 ‘ shew that I am not singular in my opini-
 ‘ on. I could wish that he had told us,
 ‘ what he thought the commissioners for
 ‘ the disposal of this bounty might do with
 ‘ the revenue of *tenths* and *first-fruits*, after
 ‘ they have bought in all the *impropria-*
 ‘ *tions*, *abbey-lands*, &c. for they are a *cor-*
 ‘ *poration*, which are to have *perpetual suc-*
 ‘ *cession*, with full capacity to purchase and
 ‘ receive, as well from persons disposed to
 ‘ give, as from others willing to sell, with-
 ‘ out *licence*, or *writ ad quod damnum*, the
 ‘ statute of *Mortmain*, or any other statute
 ‘ or law to the contrary, notwithstanding.
 ‘ *Vide* 2, 3 *Annæ*, cap. 11. § 4.

‘ AND by virtue of this power they have
 ‘ made many purchases, and have received a
 ‘ great

‘ great number of benefactions from private
 ‘ persons; amongst which there was a le-
 ‘ gacy left them by one gentleman, of the
 ‘ clear value of ten thousand pounds; so
 ‘ that, as the *dean* says, in time the CHURCH
 ‘ may be again restored to a competency of
 ‘ revenue.

‘ THE *dean* likewise says, in the same
 ‘ treatise, that *personal tythes* ought to be paid
 ‘ of the clear profits gained by the labour
 ‘ and industry of man; as by merchandize,
 ‘ handicraft trades, and all other employ-
 ‘ ments by which men get their living: and
 ‘ to prove this, he quotes St. *Ambrose*, St.
 ‘ *Austin*, and a great number of other autho-
 ‘ rities; all of them, I freely acknowledge,
 ‘ very full and clear in this point: And adds,
 ‘ that every Man is guilty of the *horrid*
 ‘ *crime* of SACRILEGE, who detains from
 ‘ GOD and his CHURCH, for the mainte-
 ‘ nance of his ministers, what he knows to
 ‘ be duly consecrated; that is, the tenth part
 ‘ of the profits of trade, labour, &c. Now
 ‘ if the laity could be persuaded to be of
 ‘ the same opinion with the *dean* in this
 ‘ matter, the clergy would be very well pro-
 ‘ vided for in cities, trading towns, and
 ‘ parishes where manufactures are established;
 ‘ many of them would then have vastly
 ‘ greater incomes, than the *archbishops* and
 ‘ *bishops* themselves have now. It is true,
 ‘ he says the people and their ministers may
 ‘ make such a composition for these personal
 ‘ tythes,

‘ tythes, as shall hold good in law, and
 ‘ bind their successors to the observance of
 ‘ it. But who can imagine, that such a com-
 ‘ position can discharge any man from the
 ‘ guilt of that *horrid crime* of SACRILEGE
 ‘ before-mentioned?

‘ IN that curious piece, *the connection of*
 ‘ *the history of the old and new testament*,
 ‘ written by the same *dean Prideaux*, there
 ‘ is a relation of a most dreadful destruction
 ‘ which befel the whole army of BRENNUS
 ‘ the *Gaul*, only for *designing* to plunder
 ‘ the temple of DELPHOS; upon which
 ‘ the *dean* says, “ Thus was GOD pleased
 ‘ in a very extraordinary manner to exe-
 ‘ cute his vengeance upon those *sacrilegious*
 ‘ wretches.” Certainly every one must
 ‘ agree, that compounding with, or, in other
 ‘ words, detaining from the *christian priest-*
 ‘ *hood* any part of what is really their due,
 ‘ is a much greater crime than intending to
 ‘ plunder a *pagan temple*; and therefore I
 ‘ think there can be no one who has any
 ‘ sense of religion, and believes the clergy
 ‘ have such a right, that would make any
 ‘ such composition, notwithstanding it might
 ‘ hold good in law, but on the contrary,
 ‘ pay the utmost farthing. For my part I
 ‘ freely own, that I no more believe they
 ‘ have any such right, than I believe that
 ‘ God destroy’d two hundred thousand
 ‘ soldiers for *intending* to plunder.

‘ THAT

‘ THAT the livings of the poor clergy
 ‘ want augmentation, is most certain; some
 ‘ of them being so very mean, that they are
 ‘ hardly sufficient to pay the incumbent
 ‘ bread for himself, much less to maintain
 ‘ a family; and therefore I heartily wish
 ‘ they were so augmented, as that all of
 ‘ them had competent revenues to support
 ‘ them suitable to their education and cha-
 ‘ racter: and if I knew any way to do it
 ‘ sooner than by the manner the *corpora-*
 ‘ *tion* hath taken, I should as readily, and
 ‘ with as much pleasure, communicate it,
 ‘ as any man alive. But yet at the same
 ‘ time I must take the liberty, as an *Englisk-*
 ‘ *man*, to declare, that I do not like any re-
 ‘ peal of the statute of *Mortmain*, upon any
 ‘ account whatever; nor settling a revenue,
 ‘ without limitation, upon a *corporation* that
 ‘ is to have *perpetual succession*, and thereby
 ‘ would in time be able to ingross all the
 ‘ estates in the kingdom into their hands.
 ‘ Not that I think any body should be very
 ‘ uneasy about it, since there is no doubt
 ‘ but posterity will put a stop to their pro-
 ‘ ceedings, whenever *they apprehend* any dan-
 ‘ ger from them.’

To the OLD WHIG.

*Unde expedire non amicorum queant
Libera concilia.*

HOR.

S I R,

LAST *thursday*, when I came to the club, I found their impatience for your opinion of it had made them meet so early that your paper was read before I got to them. On my coming in, the president told me the OLD WHIG approved of our institution; who knows, says he, but we may persuade him to come amongst us sometimes. I wish, said I, you would desire his leave to elect him a member. I see he has published the passage of Mr. *Smart's* which I recommended. I hope it will turn peoples attention to these accumulating properties. The calculations of that ingenious writer are arguments which admit of no controversy. I doubt not, the reception they meet with from the public, will persuade him to give us some farther light into these matters. If he would let us know the amounts of the lands and money already lock'd up in the hands of corporations and trustees, and
what

what will be its increase in a hundred years, tho' no new donations were permitted, I imagine we should find it so large a share of the whole property of the kingdom, that it would give mankind a just alarm: and yet I never come to town, but I find some new hospital, or charity-school a building; and in the country, ride many a long fox-chace, without scarce once trespassing on any lands but those of companies or hospitals.

'TIS true, Sir *Harry*, said Mr. *Freeman*, there is a much greater property already in *Mortmain* than the world imagines, tho' they begin to open their eyes. The bill now depending to prevent their increase is generally allowed to be necessary for the whole, provided every individual may be exempted out of it. But there is scarce a corporate body in *England* but would follow their leaders, if they had time, and humbly set forth their reasons, why their gain should be preferred to the public welfare. I think the claims already made would be a subject worth the consideration of the OLD WHIG. What says our friend (addressing himself to our *clergyman*) to the request of the corporation for the queen's bounty? They say, they have but eleven or twelve thousand pounds a year coming in, except a trifling sum of about a hundred thousand pounds in money; and they compute, that as there are 5597 livings under the value of fifty pounds *per annum*, it will be a long

time before they are sufficiently augmented. I think they reckon three hundred years, and upwards, before they will be augmented to that value; except they have some farther assistance: what do you think; is the exemption they ask reasonable or not?

You all know, said our friend, that I think the provision for some of our clergy too small, and should be glad if it was properly augmented. But I think, that may be done by the methods they now take, in a much less time than they have suggested: Tho' many of the livings mentioned by the trustees, I think, want no augmentation at all; and others might be united to one another, or to larger which are contiguous to them, without any inconvenience to the preacher or hearer. The method which they take to augment livings, is to give 200 *l.* of the queen's bounty-money to any body who will give 200 *l.* more; which sums, added together, augment the living: so that every hundred pound in their hands, may be considered as two. They have always a large sum in their hands, the interest of which is again put out to interest, and must soon be very considerable; beside the gain they make of retaining the money which they and others give, to augment the livings in their hands; and only allowing three *per cent.* for it till a purchase is found; and this gain is so considerable, that it is hardly possible to satisfy them in any title, tho' ever

ever so plain. I think therefore, in much less than half the time they mention, they may augment all the livings which want it, to the income they desire.

BUT I don't see why they should be all increased to that value; in increasing them, regard is to be had to the price of the necessaries of life in the places where they lie. For I suppose it will be no hardship, for this part of the clergy at least, to reside; and I think, it is the general sense of our clergy, that one of their order may be maintained for twenty or thirty pounds a year, for they seldom allow more to their curates, let their benefices be ever so great. A small living is not to be considered as a provision for a man and his family; but a present maintenance, in a station which gives an opportunity of proving both the ability and integrity of its possessor, and recommending him to a higher station. Tho' every soldier is a gentleman, he is not intitled to equal pay with the colonel, till his services recommend him to that station. But were the necessities of the clergy ever so great, I should not desire them to be relieved by will-making. I am satisfied, the doctrine of atoning for a bad life, by donations after death, however profitable it has been to the church, has done no good to mens morals, and no honour to christianity. I am glad, said Mr. Freeman, that our friend agrees with me, in approving the rejecting this

exemption; as I do with him, in desiring that the wants of all men, and particularly the clergy may be supplied. But I think, no argument can be formed from their necessities, that any part of land should be suffered to be in *Mortmain*: The funds are surely a less exceptionable, and more effectual, method of answering that end. The public seems likely to continue so much in debt, as will always give them a sufficient opportunity of placing their money at interest, which will raise a greater income than they can procure for it by the purchase of lands; and besides the preventing the evils which are complained of from *Mortmains*, such a method would give the state a security for the fidelity and good behaviour of those persons, who have sometimes given great cause of suspicion.

I LIKE Mr. *Freeman's* expedient very well, said Sir *Harry*. If we must have a national debt, I had much rather our countrymen should be our creditors than foreigners; who might be able, on any occasion, to draw large sums out of the kingdom, and thereby distress the credit of the nation, at a time when it may be most wanted. But pray what is to be done for the two universities? It seems they also want to be exempted out of this act: what merit or necessity have they to plead, which claims such an exemption?

I DON'T

I DON'T know what necessities they may have, said *Will Sprightly*, interrupting him; I suppose they will make them appear to the parliament: But I think they have great merit for educating our youth in *Whig* principles. I am glad to hear it, says Sir *Harry*. I assure you, says *Will*, they can have no other, without they have got them very lately; for their old *Tory* ones were burnt in Dr. *Sacheverel's* time. Come, come, says Sir *Harry*, don't abuse *Alma Mater*; but tell me truly, is your college rich enough to answer the ends it was instituted for? I don't know, said *Will*, what ends those might be: I believe, as far as the education of youth is concerned, the very plate of the university, for you must know every student leaves them a handsome piece, would maintain professors sufficient to educate all the gentlemen in *Europe* for this century; and I think our professors are already pretty well paid for all the instructions they give. As for the fellows, who take pupils, I think they have a consideration for their trouble; and if their fellowships were ten times as big, I don't believe they would take one hour's more pains, or instruct them one farthing cheaper. I never could find out why the public should pay any person better for being idle than for being employ'd; nor have I ever heard, why so many fellowships were necessary. If any are not sufficient to maintain those who have them, I suppose they

are under no obligation to keep them, no more than they were to accept them; nor can I see why the wants of a fellow of a college should be more regarded by the public than those of any other person.

WELL, said Dr. *Pandect*, we know your antipathy to these *Mortmains*; but will you have no regard to the cries of the widows and orphans that pray for an exemption? I can't help having great compassion, said Mr. *Freeman*, on so many poor wretches, educated to be above labour, who are left destitute not only of every necessary of life, but of the means to acquire them. I have certainly great compassion for them, but more for the public, who already feel the want of hands, and will much more so as the charities increase: I think the provisions for all kinds of poor, is not only a duty, but an advantage to the public; and all persons who are unable to provide for their own maintenance, have a just claim to be supported: but at the same time it ought to be remembered, that the publick have a right also to the labour of every person they maintain, and are under an obligation to make them as useful as possible. But as this is a public obligation, what occasion to take the work out of their hands? Why must that be done by private charities, which ought to be done by a common fund? Or why should the direction of the poor be in any hands but those of the state?

state? 'Tis a maxim, that power ought always to be in proportion to property: what property have the governors or trustees in hospitals in the lands they hold in *mortmain*? These estates give them the same interest in the counties where they lie, as if they were their freeholds; but the real interest they have in them is so small, that a small gratification may tempt them to comply with any schemes, however prejudicial to the nation.

I DON'T think, says *Will Sprightly*, these trustees interest so small as your friend *Free-man* imagines. I remember, when I was in *France*, I heard much of the fathers of the *mission*, and found a great zeal for getting money to propagate their religion in foreign parts. I knew *Firebrand Tartuffe* very well, who was at the head of this business, and knew he never gave any thing himself; and that he would not suffer a negro that he had to be christened, lest he should be made free, as he fancy'd the law was. Whence then this zeal for charity, and the propagation of religion could grow, I could not guess, till my landlord at the inn explained the mystery. *Tartuffe*, say'd he, had a nephew, who used sometimes to read prayers for our curate, and the young man was so civil, and so poor, that we all were resolved to speak a good word for him to his uncle; who, by the bye, is not the best man in the world to his kindred,

dred. His uncle was at last prevailed on to promise to do something for him. So after he had made his bows in his uncle's hall, dined with his servants as long as the ceremonies of our church require, he told our young man he had thought of him, and that he must come to him the next morning; which you may be sure he did not fail to do. Here, says he, as soon as he saw him, I have provided for you a letter to the fathers of the *mission*; they'll take my recommendation, they'll allow you a pistole a week till you go abroad; 'twill be bread for you at present. Sir, said the young man, I am extremely obliged to you for your kindness; but if it was possible to be done, it would be a much greater favour to give me any maintenance at home, tho' never so small; for I fear my constitution is so weak, that I can't undergo the heats of those countries where I am to go. Why, says *Tartuffe*, you don't need to go abroad; they'll give you your allowance six or eight months, to prepare your self, before they will expect you to go. But, Sir, said our young man, wou'd you think it right in me to take their money if I never intend to go? Why, as for that, says *Tartuffe*, if you have any scruples of conscience, you may resolve to pay them again when you shall be able. Fye, fye, says Sir *Harry*, if you get an unlucky story once, it must come out, tho' by the head and shoulders;

N^o 49. *The OLD WHIG.* 427

shoulders; but our friend here shall tell the OLD WHIG of you; which I have done in obedience to his commands, and am,

S I R,

Your most obedient servant,

&c.



N U M B. XLIX.

To the OLD WHIG.

S I R,

I TOOK a walk early the other morning to see my friend Sir *Harry English*, in a little retirement which he has purchased some time since near this town. The freshness of the morning, and the beauty the land-skips added to the chearfulness which arose from the exercise, gave me so great a pleasure, that I could not help heartily despising all the elegant effeminacies and unnatural delicacies which the great city I left behind me admired

mired so much, and greatly pitying the many thousand creatures whom God had made reasonable, who, in a few hours, would rise to groan away so fine a day in vain cares only to supply imaginary wants.

EVERY object which presented itself, so strongly combined to direct the mind to admire the works of nature, and to reverence their creator, who had appointed man so beautiful and magnificent an habitation, and endow'd him with faculties to fill with dignity this part of the creation, that it was impossible to behold, unmoved, this seat of folly and luxury, which daily draws such multitudes from a state of innocence and affluence, to want even the common necessities of life; who, whilst they are sacrificing their fortunes and families to the gratifying their own low vices, or to the imitating those of their betters, are preparing themselves to give up their liberties and religion to the first bidder.

THESE thoughts so totally possessed my mind, that I was got within a few pages of my friend before I perceived him. He got sight of me in his walk, and was advancing to meet me as fast as two little girls which he held one in each hand would permit him. My friend, says he, you see I am an old-fashioned fellow still; you see I teach my girls to rise early, and use their legs. I won't have my little *Whigs* lame, nor pale-faced, because its the fashion; and who knows

knows whether the interest of the fortune I can leave them will afford them a coach: if these schemes of lowering interest take effect, most of our fine ladies may have reason to wish they had learn'd to walk while they were young.

THE beauty and cheerfulness of the childrens countenances, the neatness and simplicity of their dress, but above all, the little bashfulness with which they made me their courtesies, gave me so much pleasure, that I could not help congratulating Sir Harry that for one generation more we should preserve the idea of a true *English* woman.

DON'T flatter your friend, nor spoil my girls, said he, looking on them with an air of fondness which is peculiar to good minds: Go, my dears, said he to them, get us our tea ready, whilst I shew my friend my garden.

BUT, says he, it is the height of my ambition to make them such as their mother was; and that they may have as little the air of foreigners as possible. I think our neighbours the *French* have made themselves full amends for the injuries we did them in the late war, by the fashions they have introduced since the peace: But so it is, Mr. *Freeman*, that a person of fashion can't be dressed without sending more money out of the kingdom, than would pay them for all the services they will do their country in their whole lives. You know,
Sir,

Sir, says he, I content myself with the manufactures of my own country; my clothes grew on my tenants sheep, and my house is furnished with the production of our kingdoms.

IT is always with great pleasure that I hear my friend speak on these subjects; so I endeavoured to keep up the discourse, by telling him, that however he might dislike the *French* fashions, he followed them in this piece of their policy; for they confine themselves wholly to the use of their own manufactures, however inferior theirs are to those of their neighbours. They do so, says Sir *Harry*, and are right in it; nay, they carry the matter so far, that they won't suffer a foreigner to get a farthing amongst them, if they think it likely he should return with it to his own country; except he is wanted to improve some part of their manufacture, or some valuable branch of their trade. I have heard an ingenious painter, a 'countryman of ours now living, had a letter *de Cachet* sent him, for having only drawn two portraits at *Paris*, to order him to desist or leave the kingdom; whilst the wisdom of our country is employed in inviting fiddlers and tumblers from all corners of the earth to ease us of our money, as if it was as burdensome as the debts of the nation. As he led me on, in this kind of discourse, towards his house, I found every field more beautiful. The rows of
trees

trees planted round them, and little thickets interspers'd, which my friend had filled with those flowers that grow in the shade, enriched the landskip; and diversified our walk in the most agreeable manner, and abundantly supplied the place of a garden, which I found my friend had destroyed, to throw it into a beautiful lawn before his house. This, says Sir *Harry*, is one of the few modern fashions which I approve of: I was long since tired of what was called a garden of pleasure; nothing can be long agreeable to a man of any taste, that does not at least appear to have a use. Clipp'd hedges and thorn grass-plats, which was the taste of the last age, have justly given way to these rural gardens: I love to see my sheep feed at my door. Besides that, now labour is become of double value to what I remember, I could not satisfy myself, to see half a dozen fellows rolling a gravel walk, and trimming a yew into a pyramid, whilst my neighbours wanted hands to get in their harvest.

I COULD not help admiring much the elegance of my friend's taste, who had left the fine parts of his prospect open, but had covered the less agreeable ones with the greatest diversity of beautiful plantations. He neither hath confined his genius by observing too strict a regularity, nor shewed an affectation of totally rejecting it; but it seemed as if he rather admitted it in the
smaller

smaller parts of his designs than in the larger, because it less contradicted the possibility of its being a natural production. And I oft have heard Sir *Harry* say, that to make a design of this kind complete, it ought to be almost imperceptible which parts of it are works of art, and which are the natural. But I much more admire his constant attention to the good of mankind in every part of his life; so that his *scenes* of *pleasure* are more beneficial to his country, than the *business* of the greater part of mankind.

I FOUND the inside of my friend's house answer'd the rest; it was quite plain, and exactly neat: there was neither gilding nor carving, but most judicious proportion in every part, and the furniture of the most beautiful stuffs I had ever seen; all which he assured me were our own produce. Whilst we were drinking *tea*, Sir *Harry* entertained me with his remarks on the bill now depending to prevent its being *run*; he greatly commended the clemency and policy of the legislature, in pardoning the past offences; and approved the use of severities against those, who dare to oppose by violence the execution of our laws. But he seemed to hint, the use of this liquor was become so general, even amongst the lowest sort, that a total prohibition of it was almost necessary. He rejoiced much in the passing of the *Mortmain* bill, and spoke in favour of the *Quakers*. He said, that
nothing

nothing could be more demonstrable, than that an easy method should be appointed for the recovery of small debts, but seemed to wish it was a more general relief; and was much displeased at the suggestion that our gentlemen in the commission of the peace were too partial to do justice; or that the *clergy* had gained so little esteem among them by their behaviour, as to have occasion to fear that they were prejudiced against them.

BUT, said Sir *Harry*, how do our friends the *Dissenters* conduct themselves since the affair of the *test*? Here's the *craftsman*, he indeed, had avoided declaring himself in their favour that are the fools and dupes of ministers, but that they have been so ill used by them, that they must now open their eyes, and join with him in opposing their measures, says he, right or wrong. The *Gazeteer*, of April 15. *bullies* them under the name of an expostulation, and the courtly Mr. *Walshingham* in the next paper with that title, soothes them with an *address*. I wonder how they bear this treatment, but particularly, the assertion of such notorious falsties, which so many considerable persons of their own body are able to contradict.

I'LL tell you, Sir, said I; you know the dissenters solicited this affair as a *public benefit*, not as a *private interest*: if the public would have accepted their services in burthensome offices, they were ready to have discharged

them; if they are excused, the trouble and expence is saved. Beneficial offices they neither expected nor desired; as they thought they could serve the interest of liberty, they apply'd; as the legislature has rejected their application, they acquiesce; they rejoice much, that so considerable a part of it shewed a friendly disposition towards them; they approve of the persons conduct who opposed from principle, they hope that was the case of all who did oppose them, and if it was not, they sincerely pity them; and I don't question, but they heartily laugh at, and despise, the ingenious authors who have bestowed their labour so idly, to exasperate or sooth them, to falsify what they know to be true, and assert what they are able to contradict.

I THINK with you, said Sir *Harry*, the Dissenters have more reason to rejoice than be dispirited at their present situation. Their views, however they might be mistaken, were certainly the promoting the interest and liberty of their country; and they will never want power to do so, if they take this opportunity to cultivate union amongst themselves; and laying by all heat and animosity, have regard rather to *things* than *men*: they cannot be so weak as to believe, that it is a necessary consequence, that *John* is an honest man, because *Thomas* is a rogue. I suppose the *Craftsman* might get that way of arguing from two ingenious brothers, each of which would persuade the town they had got

a metal which actually resembled gold, because their brother's was not at all like it.

For my part, said I, as far as I have opportunity, I shall recommend to them calmness and unanimity, as the only means of being useful to their country, and successful in their undertakings; and I don't question, but a *fit* time, a *proper* time will come to apply to the legislature for whatever shall be just and reasonable. But at the same time I must put them in mind, that the warmest gratitude is due to those who despised all discouragements which stood in the way of truth and virtue. 'Tis men who fly from power, not those who seek it, whom we may safely trust.

WERE I to write on this occasion, said Sir Harry, I would put the Dissenters in mind of the parable of the trees desiring a king; they said to the vine, *Come thou and rule over us*; but the vine said, *Shall I leave my wine that makes glad the hearts of gods and men, to come and rule over the trees?* And they received the like answer from the olive; but the bramble most readily took on him the office; wherefore, says the book, *Fire shall come out of the bramble, and consume the cedars which are in Lebanon.*

As I went home, I found it was much more easy to find the *bramble* than the *vine* or *olive*; but I thought, if such there were, I should find them libelled by the wits of the age, and therefore I resolved to

436 *The OLD WHIG.* N^o 49.

look over all the papers of that kind which I had collected; but to my great regret, I find I want the *Daily Courant* of the 16th of April, 1735; which, if you can help me to, you will oblige,

S I R,

Yours,

W. Freeman.

END of the First Volume.



I N.

INDEX

TO THE FIRST VOLUME.

A.



CTIONS, not Opinions, the Object of
Laws, 113, 157, &c. See *Opinions*.

All-Fours, the Parsons Game, and how they
play it, 404.

Altar-piece at Clerkenwell, 233.

Animals, a pleasant Instance of their Curiosity, 263.

Anne, Queen, her Bounty to the Church, 412.

Articles against the Judges, exhibited by Bancroft, with
the Judges Answers, 101, 102.

Athenians, their Love of Liberty, 2.

Authority, Human, in Matters of Religion, to be re-
jected, 33, 34.

B.

Bancroft, Archbishop, his Articles relating to Prohibi-
tions, 100, 101, 102.

Bigots, what their Religion is, 46, 47.

Bodies Politick, the Danger of bequeathing Lands to
them, 406. This prohibited by the Romans, 407.

Boniface, Archbishop of Canterbury, his Canons, 83.

Brennus the Gaul, Dean Prideaux's Remark on him
censured, 416.

Bucer's Opinion of the Church of Rome, 129.

Burnet, Bishop, his Opinion of Subscription, 34.

I N D E X.

C

Cambridge, Letter from, in Relation to Dr. R. and the W. Miscellany, 26.

Canonical Purgation exposed, 185, 186.

Charitable Uses, of bequeathing Lands or Estates to. See *Lands*.

Charlemain, his wise Law to prevent the Increase of Riches to the Clergy, 407.

Christian, what denominates a Man one, 277, 300.

Christian Unity, wherein it consists, 323.

Christianity, the Opposition it met with at its first Publication, 174. In what Sense it is called a Covenant, 224. How it has been abused by the Professors of it, 271. The Causes of this Abuse, 273.

Church and State riding Skimmington, 84.

Church of Rome, no true Church, 129. Denied to be so by the first Reformers, 129, 130. And by the Church of England, 134.

Church Toryism and State Whiggism inconsistent, 179, &c.

City Life and Country Life compared, 427, 428.

Civil Magistracy, Submission to it asserted, 39.

Clergy, when to be respected, 40, 41. Distinguished into two Classes, 109.

Clerkenwell Church, Letter to the Bishop of London about the Altar-piece there, 233.

Codex, of the Dispute between the Examiner and the Defender of it, 384.

Coke, Lord, his Account of Ecclesiastical Incroachments, 82, 83, 100.

Communion, Christian, how the Disputes about it may be settled, 275. The true Ground of it, 278. Consequences of the contrary Scheme, 300, 301.

Conscience, its Rights sacred and unalienable, 44, 45, 77.

Consistent Protestant, his Protest and Declaration of his Principles, 33.

Corporation for Queen Anne's Bounty. See *Queen*.

Corporation and Test Acts, the Substance of them, 354. Remarks on them, 355. The Ends of the Sacrament according to those Acts, 359. The Benefits to be received by it, according to them, 361. The Defini-

I N D E X.

Definition of it, when taken in Obedience to those Acts, 367. See *Test Act*.

Credit, undue, the Parent of Luxury, and Ruin of Liberty, 192, 193, 195.

Crucifixes, their Rise, 238.

D.

Daily Courant, a Passage in it animadverted upon, 61. Remarks upon a Letter in it, 80.

Difference of Opinions in Religion, natural and unavoidable, 66. Attended with no ill Consequences, considered in itself, 67.

Discouragements, Civil, on Account of Difference in Religious Ceremonies, Absurdity of, 16, 307.

Dissenters, Prosecutions against them, and Queries in relation to them, 266. They only affected by the Test Act, 324. Their Designs in attempting its Repeal, 327.

E.

Ecclesiasticks, their Incroachments, 81, &c. 100, &c. 386. Fatal Consequences thereof, 103.

English, Sir Harry, his Character, Oeconomy, Political Sentiments, and a Conversation with him, 427, &c.

Establishment, Religious, tho' not to be justified, yet Men may be religious Members of that Establishment, 149, &c. Arguments against religious Establishments, 281.

Estates, of bequeathing them to pious Uses. See *Lands*.

F.

Fleetwood, Bishop, his Account of the Rise of Pictures and Images in Churches, and of praying to Saints, 237.

Freedom of Inquiry. See *Private Judgment*.

Freedom in Society, and Freedom of a State, 80.

French Fashions, 429.

French Policy, 430.

Frugality necessary to Liberty, 189, 193.

Fundamentals, Remarks on Dr. Waterland's Discourse about them, 211, 222, 253.

F. f 4

German

I N D E X.

G.

German Princes, their Protest, whence the Name *Protestant* had its Rise, 21.
Government, considered with relation to Liberty, 74.
 It must have somewhere a Supremacy, 385.

H.

Hierarchy, its Inroachments upon the State, 99, &c.
Hobbes's Notion of the Civil Power, 93, 94.
Human Authority, in Matters of Religion, to be rejected, 33, 34.
Human Forms, the requiring Subscription to them in Religious Matters, a great Imposition, 337. See *Subscription*.

I.

Images, their Rise, 237.
Imposition the Essence of Popery, 292. The Wickedness and Injustice of it, 295. The Absurdity of it, 296.
Impropriations, of redeeming them, 412.
Inroachments, Ecclesiastical. See *Ecclesiasticks*.
Infallibility exposed, 58, 59.
Israelites desiring a King, 246.
Italy, its sad State, occasioned by Popish Tyranny, 88, 89.
Judges, Articles against them, and their Answers, 101, 102.
Judgment, private. See *Private Judgment*.
Julian, Cause of his ill Treatment, 408.
Jurisdictions, subordinate, 385.

K.

King, the universal Bishop of the Church of England, 254.

L.

Lands, of bequeathing them to pious Uses, 403. A Story to this Purpose, of the Artifices of Priests, and the Superstition of the People, *ibid*. The Relations of the Person so bequeathing his Estate, injured by it, 405. The Publick hurt by it, 406.
Laws, the Liberty of complaining against unreasonable ones, 87.

Liberty,

I N D E X.

Liberty, its Importance and Excellence, 1. The Love and Esteem of it among the antient Romans, and Athenians, 2. Britain's Happiness in the Enjoyment of it, 3. Attempts against it, 4, 7. Religious Liberty asserted, 37, 44, 45, 291. From what Persons and Measures it is in Danger, 61. Of natural Liberty, and Liberty under Government, 74. What Branches of it are given up, and what retained, after our Admission into Society, 75, 78, 79. The Blessings of it, 92. The Child of Reason and Virtue, 188. Frugality necessary to it, 189, 193. Licentiousness the Counterfeit of it, 190. It is inconsistent with Luxury and Superstition, 193.

Liberty of Conscience. See *Toleration*.

Liberty of speaking and writing considered, 85.

Licentiousness only the Counterfeit of Liberty, 190.

Lincoln, Bishop of, his Hawk, 82.

*Living*s, Method of augmenting them, 420.

London, Bishop of, a Letter to him about the Altarpiece in Clerkenwell Church, 233. A Letter to him about the Repeal of the Test, 352. Another upon the same Subject, 366. Another, 375.

Luther's Opinion of the Church of Rome, 129.

M.

Magistracy, Submission to it asserted, 39.

Magistrate, Opinions not cognizable by him, 156, 314. See *Opinions*.

Miscellany. See *Weekly Miscellany*.

Mortmain, Statute of, commended, 409. Ill Consequences of repealing it, *ibid*.

Mortmain Bill, Observations on it, 402, 418.

Mortmains, Danger from the Increase of them, 406.

N.

National Religions, established, ill Consequences of them, 72.

Nature full of Variety, 64.

O.

Occasional Paper, Remarks on it, 264, 280.

OLD WHIG, Occasion of setting it up, 10, 12. Answer

I N D E X.

Answer to the Couranteer's Animadversions upon it, 61, 80. The Author's Account of himself, 104.
Old Whiggs, a Club of them, 401. Their Observations about the Mortmain Bill, 402, &c. 418, &c.
Opinions, neither Civil nor Religious, the Object of Laws, 113. Mere Opinions should not exclude any from Offices, 114. Queries in relation to this Subject, 116. The Case of the Papists, 118. Answer to the foregoing, shewing that Men ought to be excluded from Offices, who profess Opinions destructive to Society, 119, &c. Case of the Papists again considered, 123. The Affair of excluding Men on Account of Opinions farther considered, 137, &c. That no Opinions are cognizable by the Magistrate, farther defended, 156, &c. 314.
Osborne, Remarks on, 251.
Oxford, two Letters relating to the Subscription to Articles of Faith and Religion, required of young Gentlemen upon their Entrance into that University, 391, 394. The Statute relating to it, 395. Unreasonableness of it, 397.

P.

Papists, their Boldness, 5. Their Number in Britain, 6. Address to Protestants to guard against them, 127.
Parliaments, their Use, 18.
Papery, its Growth, 5. Causes of it, 6. Inconsistent with Liberty, *ibid.* Inconsistent with itself, 57. Sad State of Italy, occasioned by its Tyranny, 88, 89. Address to Protestants to guard against it, 127. State of it at the Beginning of the Reformation, 130. It is an entire Perversion of the Gospel, 133. Its Wickedness and Absurdity, 165, 166. Wherein it properly consists, 292, 293.
Papish Priests, their Number in and about London, 5, 6.
Power not to be entrusted with Men of arbitrary and slavish Principles, 94, 95, 97, 98, 121, 144. See *Opinions*.
Praying to Saints, its Rise, 239, &c.
Prejudices against free Inquiries, and against Attempts to reform Men's Religious Sentiments, 172. Causes of them, 176.

Prideaux,

I N D E X.

Prideaux, Dr. Extract from him about redeeming Improvements, 412. His Remark upon Brennus the Gaul, 416.

Princes of Germany, their Protest against the Decree of Spires in relation to Religion, 21.

Private Judgment asserted, 36, 37. Farther explained, and Men's Right to it proved, 41, &c. It is an unalienable Right, 45. The great Advantages of it, 46, 47. The Gospel recommends it, 48. Objections against it answered, 51, &c. 66. It is the favourite Principle of the Old Whigs, 93. Farther proved, 291.

Prohibitions, Articles relating to them, with the Judges Answers, 101, 102.

Protestant, Rise of the Name, 20. Principles of a *Consistent One*, 33.

Protestants, an Address to them to guard against Popery, 127. Some of them too favourable to the Church of Rome, and why, 129, 135, 136.

Q.

Queen Anne's Bounty, Corporation for, Remarks on their Petition to be exempted from the Mortmain Bill, 419. Their Method of augmenting Livings, 420.

R.

Reason and Virtue the Parents of Liberty, 188.

Reformers, the natural Consequences of their Conduct, 31.

Religion ought to be free, 44, 45. Different Opinions in it natural and unavoidable, 66. The Beauty of it consists in Uniformity with Variety, 73. It may be preserved under an Establishment, 150, 151. Sad State of it among the Bulk of Mankind, 164. It cannot be the Subject of human Laws, 291.

Religious Liberty, what, and the Reasonableness of it, 291.

Religious Uses, of bequeathing Lands or Estates to. See *Lands*.

Repeal. See *Test Act*.

Riches of the Church, detrimental to Religion and Charity, 403, 408.

Rome,

INDEX.

- Rame, Church of.* See *Church.*
- Rundle, Dr.* a Passage in the *W. Miscellany* in relation to him, censured, 8, 26.
- S.*
- Sacheverell's Progress,* 187.
- Sacrament,* the Use and Intent of it purely Civil, according to the Test Act, 357. The true Nature, Ends and Benefits of it, compared with the Nature, Ends and Benefits of it according to that Act, 359, 360, 361, 366, 367, &c. Other Arguments shewing the Impropriety of making it a Civil Test, 375, &c.
- Saints,* Original of praying to them, 239, &c.
- Scriptures,* their Authority, as a Rule of Faith and Practice, asserted, 33. Their Perspicuity asserted, 35.
- Sincerity,* Christianity lays the chief Stress on it, 304.
- Skimmington.* See *Church.*
- Slavery,* Men's Propensity to it, and whence it springs, 245, 246.
- Smart, Mr.* Extract from his Tables, 411.
- Society,* what Branches of Liberty are given up, and what retained, when Men enter into it, 75. Men of very different Dispositions mixed in it, 148.
- Speech in Parliament,* about Uniformity, mutual Indulgence, and Liberty of Conscience, 196, &c. 204, &c.
- Spires,* Decree of, 20.
- Subscription to Human Forms in Matters of Religion,* the requiring of it a horrid Imposition, 337. The Papists consistent in it, 338. Inconsistency of the Protestants in it, 339. The Absurdity and Unreasonableness of it, 341. It tends to promote Irreligion and Immorality, 342, 343. The Opinion of some eminent Persons about it, 344, 345. Two Letters concerning Subscription in the Universities, 391, 394.
- Superstition,* of a growing Nature, 243.

T.

- Tarquins,* Conspiracy to restore them, 247.
- Tartuffe, Firebrand,* Story of him, 425.

Test-

I N D E X

- Test-Act*, the Objections against the Expediency of repealing it, considered, 308. What may be expected from the several Parties in this Attempt, 320. What the Dissenters Designs are in it, 327. Who may be supposed to join with them in it, 330. Who to oppose it, 335. The Dissenters less concerned in it, than the Church of England, 346. Why the Dissenters are for it, 348. Why the Bishops should be for it, *ibid.* A Letter to the Bishop of London upon the Subject, 352. Another, 366. Another, 375. See *Corporation*.
- Toleration* allowed by the Jewish Constitution, 198. By the Apostles and first Christians, 201. Under the Christian Emperors, 204. It is the only Way to unite Men's Minds, 208.
- Tory* in the Church cannot be a Whig in the State, 180. Principles of a Church Tory, *ibid.* An Invasion of the Prerogative of the Crown, 183. Injurious to the Liberties of the People, 184.
- Trinity*, Dr. Waterland's Manner of Reasoning about it censured, 167.
- Tythes*, personal, 415.

V.

- Variety*, all Nature full of it, 64. A Variety of Sentiments in Religion, also natural, 65, 66.
- Vice* and *Luxury*, the Foundation of both civil and spiritual Tyranny, 249.
- Virtue* consistent with acting as a Member of Society, where many are vicious, 148.
- Uniformity* in all Points, impracticable, 69. The Folly and Unreasonableness of aiming at any such Thing, 71, 206.
- Uniformity* with *Variety*, the Beauty of the Moral and Christian, as well as of the Natural World, 73.
- Unity*, Christian, wherein it consists, 323.
- Universities*, Remarks on their Petition to be excepted out of the Mortmain Bill, 432.
- Unreasonable Laws*, the Liberty of complaining against them, 87. Especially relating to Religion, 88.

Water-

I N D E X.

W.

- Waterland*, Dr. how his Manner of Reasoning about the Trinity will serve to defend Transubstantiation, 167. Remarks on his Discourse about Fundamentals, 211, 222. A Letter to him, occasioned by his List of Fundamentals, 253.
- Watson*, Mr. his Letter to the Bishop of London about the Altar-piece in Clerkenwell Church, 233.
- Weekly Miscellany*, a bold Passage in that Paper animadverted upon, 8, 26.
- Whiggism*, true. See *Whigs*.
- Whigs*, their Rise and Character, 12. Their Principles, 13, &c. With regard to assuming and persecuting Ecclesiasticks, 17. With regard to the Crown and Parliament, 18.
- William*, King, the Honour due to his Memory, 244, 248.
- World*, like a great Mad-house, 164.
- Worms*, Edict of, 21.

E R R A T A.

PAGE 21. Line 23. *after* Brandenburg, *add* Ernest and Francis, Dukes of Lunenburg. P. 101. l. 27. *after* be, *read* treated; *and dele* treated in the next Line. P. 106. l. 6. *r. it.* P. 131. l. 11, 12. *for* Innocence, *r.* Intercession. P. 162. l. 16. *place the Semicolon before* to be. P. 203. in the first Note at the Bottom, *r. Teton*.

